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In Praise of Socialism

SAMIR AMIN

Portugal and Mozambique

JOHN S. SAUL

Democracy in China

BARBARA EHRENREICH

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NOTES FROM THE EDITORS

Subscribers should be receiving the annual Monthly Review Associates appeal letter at about the same time they get this issue of the magazine. As most of you know, the purpose of the appeal is to cover the magazine's deficit, but those who join also get important benefits: the right to buy copies for personal use of all MR Press books at 50 percent off list price, a year's subscription (new or renewal), and a free book. Membership fees in the Associates begin at $25, with many subscribers contributing more. Newsstand buyers of the magazine can get a copy of the letter by sending us their names and addresses.

The appeal letter was of course written earlier in the summer, since it involved correspondence between MRA Chairman J. Raymond Walsh and the editors, and it had to go to the printer well in advance of mailing. As we read it over now, its tone of relative financial optimism seems a bit overdone. There has been no abatement in the rate of cost inflation, reflected in sharp cost-of-living pay increases for the staff as of July 1 when the old union contract expired; and slow collections during the summer months have resulted in a considerably less favorable cash position than had previously been projected. These developments do not alter the fundamental picture, but they do prompt us to ask a special favor of those who intend to join the Associates: please make your contribution as large as you can, but above all send it in right away. The cash position will improve in the coming months, but from our point of view it is important that it should do so rapidly rather than slowly.

For many readers this month's Review of the Month, "In Praise of

(*Continued on inside back cover*)

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IN PRAISE OF SOCIALISM

By Samir Amin

The question has been put to me whether the world is headed toward cultural uniformity or will retain its variety. I thought my answer to this question was implicit in *Unequal Development*.[1] Here is that answer, stated explicitly.

First we need to know what culture is, what civilization is; we need to identify its component parts and see how they fit together. Only then will we be able to understand how each part acquires its true meaning through reference to the whole —to society—and so becomes intelligible. *Bons mots* like the famous remark of Alain,[2] the mysterious (and mystical) halo

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1. *Développment inégal* (Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1973). An English translation will be published by Monthly Review Press.
2. "Culture is what remains after one has forgotten everything."

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that surrounds so many commentaries on the fine arts, the intuitions suggested by linguistics and by what is called the "psychology of peoples" (sic), the citing of a few clearly incidental connections between elements of the natural world and elements of social organization or of ideology (political practices, scientific ideas, or art forms)[3]—all of that hardly suffices to hide the real conceptual void that exists in present thinking about culture and civilization.

In our view, culture is *the mode of organization of the utilization of use values*. What are use values? Can we define them, determine their limits, even attempt to classify them into categories? Can we describe the precise nature of this organization and the way in which it works? Can we, finally, understand the relations (either harmonious or contradictory) among different modes of organization on the different levels that are relevant to them? These are questions that we shall try to answer from a historical perspective, that is, in essence, by contrasting precapitalist social formations with those of the contemporary world (capitalist social formations). And since "the point is not to interpret the world but to change it," we propose to define the point of departure of the so-called socialist utopia:[4] the vision of a disalienated society.[5] Outside of this perspective, there is no salvation. He who refuses to conceive of a disalienated society accepts alienation, and in so doing, as far as we are

3. Connections between the brilliant clarity of the Greek sky and rationality, between the mists of the north and romanticism, etc.

4. Utopia is not a synonym for the impossible; on the contrary, since we are able to imagine a coherent society, such a society is a possibility (among others). The utopian socialists of the beginning of the nineteenth century are not utopian because of the vision they express, but because of their notion of the way to achieve it.

5. To reject the theme of alienation, as the structuralists do, is to accept as inevitable the prospect of George Orwell's *1984*. Alienation is not merely a theme of the idealist philosophy of humanism (which seeks to discover the essence of man outside of the modes of production that define him as serf or lord, bourgeois or proletarian, etc.). It is not merely a theme found in the early writing of Marx which he subsequently discarded. The first chapters of *Capital* give a central place to the specific alienation of the capitalist mode of production (the commodity fetish). There are other kinds of alienation, those of the various religions, which we connect with other modes of production (see below). Once again, to reject the reality of commodity alienation is to refuse to change the world, to be content to contemplate it. It is to reject praxis.

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concerned, renounces the possibility of understanding scientifically how society works. And if ideology is the false, alienated consciousness of an alienated society, the science of that society is inseparable from its ideology. A science that is truly and totally disalienated does not yet exist; it can only be the finished product of a disalienated society. But we can catch a glimpse of it, just as we can envision human liberation, once we become aware of our false consciousness. It is time to repeat: reason and emotion are the inseparable products of the existence and activity of man, physical and spiritual, social and individual.

All precapitalist social formations are based on the direct apprehension of use values, without the intermediary of exchange value.

Of course commodity exchange exists in many precapitalist social formations, but in none of them is the mode of (simple) commodity production dominant. That is why the very concepts of exchange value and use value could not be formulated until the capitalist mode appeared and the commodity form, not only of the entire social product but of labor power itself, became general. We know that it is only with capitalism that the dialectical unity exchange-value/use-value—like the dialectical unity social/individual—appears as an object of social science. And only with capitalism does the same word "value" begin to be used for both terms of the contradiction.

To be sure, it is also interesting to see how the embryo of a social science based on the dialectic use-value/exchange-value appears in those peripheral and exceptional precapitalist formations in which commodity exchange performs decisive (although not dominant) functions. That is the source of the extraordinary attraction that Greece has for modern minds.[6]

When use values are apprehended directly, it is impossible to conceptualize them as anything but a multiple reality. In precapitalist formations, the abstract concept of use value does not exist (it can be grasped only in relation to its opposite, exchange value); there are only concrete use values, in the plural. Today we understand that these are both individual and

6. And that is why we find in Aristotle the embryo of a science of economics.

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social at the same time. The complex always explains the simple, as Marx reminds us. But in the consciousness of precapitalist man, only the individual aspect is apparent.

For this reason, because it is impossible for precapitalist man to isolate the concept of use value, he cannot define a domain of economic activity with limits that indicate the existence of another domain, that of non-economic social activity. Use values—we see here the inadequacy of the word "value"—occupy the whole of social life. All things, material or immaterial, that meet the needs of social and individual precapitalist man are use values. Thus his various foodstuffs, his tools and utensils, his clothing and shelter, his art objects and collective monuments are all use values, but in the same way so are his means of expressing his scientific ideas, his beliefs (ritual sacrifices, prayers), and his ways of satisfying his emotions and of solving his family and social problems.

Today we recognize the fact that in precapitalist formations man does not differentiate between the time he spends working and the time he devotes to other social occupations. Not that he is an idiot and cannot tell how many days it takes him to sow his millet or rice, but he does not analyze that time in terms different from those he uses to designate and measure the time he devotes to settling village disputes, etc. He makes no distinction between working time and so-called leisure time, because the latter, which in reality is only recuperation time, implies the commodity nature of labor power. We shall see that the situation is entirely different in the capitalist mode and that, for this reason, leisure time is alienated, like the work that underlies it. In precapitalist societies, therefore, man does not know boredom.

The unity of social time thus makes it impossible for precapitalist man to define a specific domain of economic activity, and therefore a science of economics. Moreover, in precapitalism the economic system is transparent, as we have already shown.[7] For this reason, the dominant characteristic of precapitalist modes is always the superstructure, although the infrastructure of course remains determining in the last analysis.

7. See *Développement inégal,* chapter 1.

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The direct apprehension of use values does not mean that men are free—that is, that they know their limits—because it takes place at a level of development of the productive forces that is still very low. The consequences of this fact are of fundamental importance.

First, we are dealing with class societies. This means that the total quantity of use values is very unequally appropriated, and the share of most people is extraordinarily limited. It is this poverty of the majority that is the condition of the wealth of the minority, who, through the direct apprehension of wealth, can develop their humanity, their science, their taste, art, emotions. The humanity of some has as its counterpart the reduction of others to an almost animal state. That humanity, therefore, is necessarily limited, deformed, and alienated.

It is alienated because the ideology—which, given the transparency of the economic relations, cannot but be dominant—is not a vulgar fraud or cynical lie invented by profit-makers. The ruling class is as much subject to the ideology—its own—as the oppressed class. What is the nature of the alienation that characterizes this dominant ideology? The low level of development of the productive forces means that the whole society is subjected to the forces of nature, hence that it is not free. Man is necessarily alienated in nature; the dominant ideology is necessarily religious.

Consequently, all use values have this characteristic: they are apprehended simultaneously as means of direct satisfaction of needs and as manifestations of religious alienation. As can be seen, these are not "animal," "physiological" needs, but social needs, and this is true at even the most wretched material level.

Thus, we are dealing with an alienated culture. But it is a *culture,* precisely because the mode of organization of the utilization of use values is total. Total because it embraces every area of social life, because it unites the social and the individual, because it determines each of its parts through reference to the whole. So it is not through some illusion fostered by erudition that when contemplating the works of the past we experience the same emotion as the men of the past: we understand them.

The direct apprehension of use values also endows time

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with the dimension of durability. In the first place, things are made to last: houses, furniture, utensils, fabrics. This durability is not solely a reflection of the low level of the productive forces, which means that things cannot be replaced too often. Durability is also, and above all, necessary so that these things may really be use values. For durability makes it possible for things to be integrated with the person who possesses them; it gives him time to grow accustomed to them, to love them, to discover all their hidden dimensions, beyond their simple "functionality." But this durability is not confined to the manufacture of things; it also applies to ideas, emotions, and their material supports. Temples and cathedrals are built for eternity. A reflection, no doubt, of specific religious alienation: the dominant ideology can perform its functions only if, in the false consciousness of men, it appears destined to last forever. But at the same time, the durability of a monument makes it possible for successive generations to steep themselves in its meaning, its many-faceted and ever surprising richness.

For this reason, the ancient cultures are necessarily varied. Not because physical communications are limited and the planet is still vast, but because the direct apprehension of use values is necessarily concrete and therefore varied in the extreme. Varied from one social formation to another, from one region, with its particular landscape, to another, from one individual to another. The diversity of the necessary connections between society and a nature that man has only begun to master accentuates this inevitable variety, as does the diversity of the combinations peculiar to different social formations.

Capitalism is the moment of negation: negation of use value, hence also negation of culture, negation of diversity.

The capitalist mode of production is based on exchange value, which is generalized for the first time, extended for the first time to labor power itself, in all capitalist formations, both at the center and on the periphery. Tending to be exclusive to the center, the dominant capitalist mode, in subjugating the periphery where other modes prevail, has disfigured them, emptied them of their content. The real unity of the world al-

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ready exists; it is a unity built upon the universal commodity-nature of labor power.[8]

In the capitalist world, man has lost the direct apprehension of use values. Whether he is enormously rich or in abject poverty, he is only a consumer. That is to say, a social animal whose needs are manufactured with the speed and precision of a machine, according to the demands of profit. More than ever it seems to him that his own strength, the very strength that enables him to control nature, imposes itself upon him as though it were an outside force. He remains alienated.

But the locus of his alienation has shifted. He is no longer afraid of nature, of thunder and lightning, of the gods; he is afraid of himself, of society. We have seen why this is so: the generalization of exchange value in its highest form, the form of capitalism, now makes the economic exploitation of labor power opaque. Height of absurdity: things created by men are given the curious name of a general and abstract concept, capital. They are endowed with the magical properties of fetishes: they have a "productivity" in and of themselves. Instead of understanding that his labor has become more productive, alienated man attributes this productivity to the material means that he employs.

It is for this reason, out of this new alienation, that there arises the need for, and the possibility of, a specific science: economics. Because there can only be a science when its object is—or at least appears to be—autonomous, independent of the subject. Henceforth that is the case. The true religion of the English, Marx once observed, is no longer Protestantism but the law of supply and demand. At the same time, the field of social activity splits into separate domains. The domain of economic life acquires precise limits: to cook meals in a restaurant is an

8. See *Développement inégal* and my study *Le Fin d'un débat: Echange inégal et la loi de valeur* (to be published by Éditions Anthropos, Paris, and to be included as an appendix to the English translation of *Développement inégal*). See also *The German Ideology*, R. Pascal, ed. (New York: International Publishers, 1939), pp. 56-57, where Marx (already!) affirms the unity of the world, which our "economists" are discussing today (see *Le Fin d'un débat*).

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economic activity, to prepare them at home is not. Why? Because the first economic activity creates exchange values, commodities; while in the second, the housewife continues to apprehend use values directly.

The two terms of the contradictory dialectical unity use-value/exchange-value become understandable simultaneously. A dialectical unity is not necessarily symmetrical: exchange value dominates the unity and, in the last analysis, determines use value, as is shown by everyday social reality. The historic relationship, in which use value is the basis of exchange value, is reversed.

Economistic alienation is necessary to the functioning of the system. That is why a false science reflecting the demands of a false consciousness, the science of economics—which is therefore in reality an ideology—had to be built on the absurd hypothesis that use values unilaterally determine exchange values. An obvious contradiction: in the society that denies use values, the entire ideology—a science, supposedly—is built on the sole basis of the pre-eminence of use values. Thus the hell of reality is compensated for by the heaven of ideas.

Social life is henceforth compartmentalized, economic activity being distinct from other activities. But at the same time, the unity of this social life is re-established by the dominance of its economic sector; all aspects of life are subject to the fundamental requirement that labor power be reproduced as a commodity. This is the condition of the dominance of the exchange value of commodities over the use of things. Commodities and non-commodities appear as two distinct categories. But the non-commodity exists only through its opposite, the commodity, and the former is dominated by the latter. Social time is split into non-working time and working time. But here too the former exists only to serve the latter. It is not leisure time, as it is called in the false consciousness of alienated men, but recuperation time. It is "functional" recuperation that is socially organized and not left up to the individual, despite certain appearances. Here again the image reverses the reality: the closed and secret world of the free individual belongs to the heaven of ideas; here on earth, in the realm of realities, it is invaded by the demands of society. That is why errors in technical adjustment of this horrible functionalism result in human boredom.

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At the same time, social life loses the notion of the durability of time. Exchange value, commanded by profit, is embodied only in objects that are useful in the most limited, functional sense of the term. The replacement of things is not only, or even chiefly, the result of the acceleration of real progress in the productive forces; it is also, and above all, necessary to the system of extracting surplus value. It is therefore, in the true sense of the word, waste. This waste is not only material. It has a profound effect on the relationship between man and things. Things too, like man himself, come to have only one dimension: the dimension of immediate use. But at the same time man, who no longer fears nature, no longer believes in eternity. He has gotten rid of it, but only to deliver himself up to the demands of the short term. Shorter and shorter. Stupidly, the technocrats measure the "costs" and "benefits" of their decisions from a myopic point of view that never takes in more than ten or fifteen years. Some of them think they ought to widen the range of their measurements, go beyond the enterprise and assess the "costs" and "benefits" to society. A few inadequate techniques give them a clear conscience—the clear conscience of the alienated, naturally. But that is not where the problem lies; men need to see beyond ten or fifteen wretched little years. But the technocrat is no longer a man; he prefigures the infernal machine of the ultimate horror, the machine of *1984*.

If culture can exist only where there is the direct, complete apprehension of all use values, material and immaterial, in their simultaneous totality, then capitalism has no culture. It is the moment of the negation of culture. It destroys. The destruction spreads from one sector to another, the commodity gradually debasing the non-commodity. First it is material objects that are reduced to the status of commodities, whose use value shrinks in accordance with functions that are socially determined. An African utensil is not just a utensil, it is still a work of art and an expression of religious emotion as well. A bucket made of plastic is no longer anything but a plastic bucket, and the work of art only a decorative object. As for the religious emotion, it must disappear, since the locus of alienation has shifted. The starkness of the ideal Protestant church means that there is to be no further communication between the religious emotion and the emotions of art or of everyday life. It must be something else,

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which no longer has anything human about it. But, you will say, there is modern art. Of course. But have you noticed that the art of precapitalist societies is always a means of social integration, while our contemporary art is, for the first time and ever more completely, the expression of a rejection of society? Thus it is only to the extent that capitalism has not yet reached its outer limits that the contradiction survives, that art subsists as a sort of vestige. But in *1984* there will be no art: what purpose would it serve?

Closed off in a narrow corner of society (principally feminine), vestiges of use value continue for a time to lead a constantly threatened existence. In their impoverished condition, these vestiges lapse into mediocrity, melancholy, boredom, insignificance, and finally nothingness, while waiting to become commodities. Has not pornography succeeded in turning orgasm into an ordinary commodity? Not only the material things which sometimes serve as their supports, but also immaterial things, the emotions, which have no more support, become atrophied; education sees to that. As a supreme alienation, a certain revolt on the part of women demands that society treat them like men, that they be allowed to trade the debased status of victims of oppression for the debased status of oppressors.[9] The system can grant them that privilege (gradually, of course): in *1984* there will be no more women, since there will be no more men either. They will be equal—equally insignificant.

Resistance to the destruction of culture also appears where the system has not yet penetrated so deeply, on its periphery. Despite powerful tendencies of capitalism to shape everything, everywhere, to the same mold, complexities continue to exist in peripheral formations. These complexities, in contrast with the

9. Certain feminist tendencies, by exalting the so-called "feminine" virtues of gentleness, have greatly contributed to our awareness of the decisive role that the allegedly masculine virtues of "virility" (read: brutality, stupidity, arrogance, and discipline) play in the mechanisms of alienation. But the dominant tendencies either limit themselves to a demand for equal treatment (a just demand, but one that is strictly non-liberating, like all economistic demands), or advocate the creation of a separate, isolated feminine world. This latter objective, impossible and utopian in the ordinary sense of the word, is quite in line with American tradition and is a reflection of powerlessness.

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growing functional simplicity at the center, provide opportunities for resistance and revolt. These revolts are at first confused, without coherent perspectives, in a word, nationalist; but they can assume another dimension, as the Chinese Cultural Revolution has made brilliantly clear for all the world to see.

Fortunately, capitalism is not harmony, although it tends toward the harmony of nothingness, *1984*. It therefore offers mankind a choice: a functional harmony without human beings, or something else that lies beyond it.

For the negative moment is also the one that makes possible the liberation of humanity. The prodigious development of the productive forces enables man to control nature, which is the condition of freedom. Also, this development makes liberation possible for *all* men, not just privileged minorities, as in the past. It therefore makes possible a re-establishment of the direct apprehension of use values, at a level of universal abundance that eliminates the complementary deformations and debasements of the oppressor and the oppressed. It has already given us a glimpse of this possible liberation precisely by shifting the locus of alienation. Because already the dominance of the economic factor partially liberates politics and ideology. They are no longer religious. In their turn, each becomes the object of a practice that is on the way to becoming liberated, and the object of a science. Of course, this practice is not yet truly free, since it is subject to the requirements of economistic alienation. But it is no longer pinned under the direct weight of alienation. It is because this practice is not free, moreover, that it too can become the object of various sciences, which go by the name of sociology, political science, etc. False sciences, no doubt, like their complement, economics, because they arise from a false consciousness. But sciences precisely to the extent that man, who is not free, is subjected in them to laws that seem outside himself.

The road to socialism is therefore open, but so is the road to the perfection of horror.

The perfection of horror has a name, 1984, the reign of what Marcuse calls one-dimensional man. We must rejoice that this is so. For in the past man could not foresee what horror would be like. The fact that he can now do so demonstrates the reality of the contradictions that force him to reject it.

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But let us take a good, clear look at it: *1984* is the calm reign of the universal harmony of death. There are no more individuals, neither men nor women. These beings—one does not know what to call them—are neither human nor animal, neither liberated nor alienated, neither conscious nor animated by false consciousness. They are perfectly plastic. Their nature is no longer determined by other men but by a perfect machine. Thus contradiction, which is the essence of life, gives way to harmony, which is death. These beings no longer speak—they have nothing to say, since they have nothing to think or feel. They no longer produce anything, neither objects nor emotions. No more art. No more anything. The electronic machine produces—the word itself has lost all meaning—everything, these beings included.

Absurd? Yes of course, but it is the technocrats' dream of perfection. Let them admit it, under torture if need be. It is the dream of the enthusiastic apostles of "laissez-faire," of "stick to the middle of the road," of "make realistic and progressive adjustments," and all that sort of pitchman's claptrap. Don't interfere with what? Let things evolve toward what? Adjust to what? Let them admit it: their dream is to go as quietly as possible toward nothingness.

Absurd? Yes of course, but isn't that where we are going? Why else is it that we are so fond of what we increasingly think of as "vestiges"? China, Egypt, Asia, and Africa are full of these "vestiges"; they still exist in Europe and even, to an extent, on the East coast of the United States. But Los Angeles also exists and—still worse—Australia. Why else is it that we love the old cities, we even love Manhattan, but no one, not even the city planners who conceived it, dares defend the perfect functionalism of the latest "achievements" of post-war capitalism? What we love about these vestiges, despite all their limitations, is precisely the wholeness of the use values they contain, their respect for the unity of the social and the individual, in a word, their non-functionalism.

Perfect functionalism is necessarily compartmentalized and linear. It is always functionalism in relation to some one thing, not in relation to the whole. Add it up: the fastest possible means of transportation—some are even comfortable—to go to work,

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the quietest possible places of rest (to regenerate labor power), the closest possible places to shop (capitalism has to survive, after all). What do you have? Los Angeles or Australia! There space, like time, is split into social space and individual space. One cannot put social space to individual use: at a highway cloverleaf one is necessarily a motorist and nothing else. The "artists" of technocracy can plant fine trees there, not necessarily plastic ones; they can consult a painter who is a master of color, and even a psychologist. The cloverleaf remains ugly. Because neither the painter nor the psychologist is able to conceive of an individual use of social space; besides, that's not what they're paid to do.

At the same time, so-called private space is a fraud; it is space organized for recuperation, therefore dominated by the demands of society. Individual houses are dormitories, places where men sink into the necessary state of stupor (think of the real functions of television), places where they make a feeble attempt to withdraw into themselves (think of the "quiet joys of family life"), places where they are bored.

But look at the way men live in an oriental bazaar (social and individual), the way they entertain in the "privacy" of their homes in an "underdeveloped" country (their well-known hospitality is a reflection of this). In settings such as these it is not "things" that we find appealing. Some are beautiful and others are less so, or not at all. It is neither a scholarly interest in the past nor a fashionable worship of it that produces our response. It is simply the wholeness of the use value, a dimension that functionalism robs us of.

In capitalism, space and time no longer provide a framework for the organization of use values. They have become the underpinnings of exchange value. Furthermore—the ultimate alienation—they have a "price"!

The world that has become underdeveloped, Ibadan and Dakar; the old Europe; the newer Europe that wants to rebuild Paris in the image of Detroit, Manhattan, or Chicago of the twenties and thirties; Los Angeles and Australia: so many milestones on the road that leads inexorably to *1984*.

So it is not surprising that the contradictions that make us realize that capitalism is the moment of negation, and nothing

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more, are sharper on the periphery of the system than at its center, clearer in southern Europe than in the United States. It is while capitalism is still "young" that it shows its true face. Later it may be too late: men have forgotten the very existence of use values, they do not ask themselves any more questions about the meaning of alienated work, they are thoroughly "conditioned," they have become one-dimensional.

Examples? Why is the American language an impoverished form of English, if not because the "purer" capitalism of North America needs fewer nuances of thought and feeling? Why are the "vestiges" of culture in North America to be found in the appalling pro-slavery South and not in California or Las Vegas? Why has the language of the Europeans of the nineteenth century become unreadable for the functionalist sociologists of the twentieth century who simplify everything? Why has dialectics become synonymous for them with "incomprehensible," "contradictory," "erroneous," while they take delight in the simple—simplistic—language of the unilateral models that require a computer (which replaces a billion connections of the human brain by ten million electric wires—ah progress!)? Why is it that the idiotic specialists can no longer feel and understand cross-disciplinary allusions and metaphors? Why is it at the beginning of the nineteenth century that the wonderful, visionary cry of utopian socialism arises? Why do the most modern ideas and actions come from China? Why is it the Cultural Revolution and not the hippie movement that speaks to the problems of the worker in Detroit?[10] Why is Australia a world of absolute silence? You will ask, by the way, how is it possible to be an Australian? Yes, it is possible, there are Australians; one can even be comfortable, it seems, being an Australian, even have a slightly better chance (statistically) of being a tennis champion. One can even *become* an Australian: functionalism is a thing you can get hooked on. So let all the technocrats in the world be automatically sent to Australia, they will like it there.

10. Like certain tendencies in the women's movement, the hippie movement thinks it can create an isolated paradise, without transforming society. Once again, in the American tradition of moralism and powerlessness, the hippie movement fails: one cannot create a civilization of use values in a land where commodity is king, and the hippies in their turn fall back into the old society.

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They will like it there because they will systematically build *1984,* a world in which—the contradictory dialectical unity having given way to functionalist structuralism—everything is perfect and therefore, like God, inert.

Here is the second of the two clear and inescapable alternatives and it too has a name: socialism.

It is a society, a society of human beings. A society that has solved certain problems, those of the prehistory of humanity, and lives on another level, animated by new problems and new contradictions. We are not talking about a harmonious society. But can we imagine the problems of a liberated, disalienated society? Can we imagine a culture that is not alienated, one that is different from both an alienated culture and a non-culture?

The new problems of this society will not be those that are dealt with by the alienated social science we know today. First of all, economics will have disappeared. Let there be no mistake about it: economics is not an "absolute" science, the science of modes of production, for example. Science is no more absolute than anything else. Economics is merely the science of the capitalist mode of production, the only mode than can be an object of science, since its particular form of alienation is economistic alienation. At the same time, this science also enables us to understand the precapitalist modes, to understand the specific nature of the alienation, not economistic but religious, that characterizes them. And also to foresee the communist mode, freed from alienation. Through a dangerous misuse of language, we describe economics as the science of all modes of production. Dangerous misuse because, if we are not careful, it will persuade us of the ineluctability of economistic alienation. The social democracy of the European workers' movement of the nineteenth century succumbed to this. And when Rosa Luxemburg states, simply, that with the disappearance of the intermediary of exchange values and the re-establishment of the direct apprehension of use values, economics no longer has an object, that is considered a "left deviation."

Nor will there be any political science or sociology in a society in which man really knows what he wants. No more state, said Marx; therefore no more science of the state, obviously.

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Thus the direct apprehension of use values will be re-established. That is certain. Time will again become whole. "The point is not to liberate work but to eliminate it." So-called leisure time will also disappear, along with its complement, labor time, which dominates it. Things will no longer be functional things but parts of the whole, and, of necessity, durable. Man will once again be able to look far into the future, entrusting to the machine—it deserves no more—the short-term calculation of efficiency relegated to its proper place. Man will have regained his hold on time. Space too will have been reclaimed, as a support for use values, as a use value itself. And it too will be whole. With the abolition of work, the division of labor will disappear (especially the division between intellectual labor and manual labor, between the labor of conception and the labor of execution, etc.). So too, with the abolition of exchange value, the contradiction between social and individual will disappear and, so far as space is concerned, the opposition between city and country, between "collective" space and "private" space, etc. It can be seen that socialism is a very different thing from capitalism without capitalists, which is what it has been reduced to by social democracy, economism, and the experience of Eastern Europe.

The direct apprehension of use values is thus the bearer of diversity, not uniformity. In contrast to the uniformity brought about by capitalism's destruction of culture, here there is the richness of a rebirth of diversity. National diversity, doubtless, but also diversity that is regional, local, individual.

These, then, are the new problems: those that concern the new dialectic of the social and the individual in a free society of free individuals. To attempt to characterize the nature of this new dialectic, to try to confine it in the straitjacket of present "sciences" that deal with "man"—whether they be psychology or physiology—would be a pointless exercise. The fact that we can already catch a glimpse of some of the new problems must not deceive us. It is still only through the distorting prism of the debasement and sickness produced in alienated man by the current, oppressive society, that we perceive the problems of tomorrow.

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DEMOCRACY IN CHINA

BY BARBARA EHRENREICH

It was said during the Cultural Revolution that "the 700 million Chinese are all critics." Five years later, the claim still holds. All China is criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius. Workers spend at least six hours a week meeting with fellow-workers to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. Families—children through grandparents—hold family meetings to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. Character posters criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius decorate factories, restaurants, schools, and shops. School children sing the popular songs "The Workers, Peasants, and Soldiers are the Motive Force in the Movement to Criticize Lin Piao and Confucius," and "Carry the Criticism of Lin Piao and Confucious Through to the End."

What did Lin Piao and Confucius do to bring down the indignant criticism of 700 million (or 800—estimates range up to a billion) Chinese? The biographies of the two men are not entirely illuminating. Confucius was an itinerant philosopher and odd-job man who lived in the fifth century B.C.; he became an official in the state of Lu, and his writings eventually became the official philosophy of the imperial bureaucracy. Lin Piao was the Defense Minister of the People's Republic of China until 1971; in 1969 the Ninth Party Congress hailed him as the "successor" to Chairman Mao. He died in 1971 in a plane

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crash in Mongolia, supposedly in flight to the Soviet Union. It turned out, according to the official press, that he had been plotting to assassinate Chairman Mao and stage a coup d'état. And what is the connection between Lin Piao and Confucius? On the wall of Lin Piao's room in his Peking home was found an old saying of Confucius: "Restrain yourself and restore the rites."

If the official biographies of Lin Piao and Confucius do not throw much light on the current Movement to criticize the two men, neither have most of the reports in the Western press. The Movement has been variously interpreted as a struggle between the "moderates" and the "radicals" over détente with the United States, as a battle over the succession to Chairman Mao, and/or as an official "uncorking" of seething mass unrest. Or it has been dismissed as a bit of oriental Marxist "exotica," inscrutable to Western minds.

This article is about my own observations during a recent three-week trip to China. I cannot report on what the Movement means at the highest levels of Chinese policy-making. What I do know is what the Chinese people I met say that the Movement means in their own lives, and I will try to report on this as faithfully as possible. First, I should state some of the limitations on my own ability to investigate the Movement. Since I do not speak Chinese and since I was part of a 22-person group,* it was usually impossible to follow through on questions as well as I would have liked. Also, the period we were in China —May 12 through June 2, 1974—will probably someday be considered an "early" phase of the Movement. In some of the six cities we visited there was already a feeling of excitement and mass involvement; in other places the Movement still seemed to be in an extremely abstract phase. Things are changing rapidly, and this report is only a preliminary, fragmentary glimpse. In what follows I will first present our observations of

* I was enormously aided by several other members of the group—Bonnie Genevich, Irving Lerner, Judy MacLean, Saralee Hamilton, Grace Paley, Bob Nichols, and Hank di Suvero. They are the "we" in this article. I am also deeply grateful to our four permanent guides from the China International Travel Service—Tang, Han, Ping, and Yiao—who "aimed high and went all out" in their efforts to help us understand the Movement.

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the Movement itself and its impact on daily life, and then attempt to give my own reconstruction of what the Movement means at the level of national policy.

The first thing we realized about the Movement was that many Chinese were not quite sure themselves what to make of it, and this in itself was a lesson in Chinese democracy. It was not that the line was unclear, or that anyone seemed to disagree with it. Since the initiation of the Movement in August 1973 by Chairman Mao ("personally") there has been an endless series of articles elaborating the substantive criticisms of Lin Piao and Confucius. To summarize the criticisms in the Chinese press: Confucius taught that the rule of the élite was justified by their "innate superiority" and intelligence; the poor were "stupid" and deserved to be oppressed. In short, Confucianism is the essence of conservatism. Lin Piao, it is charged, was a latter-day disciple. He believed in his own "genius"; he felt that protracted struggles against elitism in Chinese society were counterproductive; and he ultimately showed his contempt for the masses by attempting to seize state power and "restore capitalism." These are the charges: how could any Chinese fail to be indignant? The problem, for the average person, is figuring out what it means to "carry the criticism through to the end." On this point there are no instructions, no directives.

An analogous situation in the United States would be an official Movement to Criticize Aristotle and, say, Richard Nixon. We would have to begin by learning something about the teachings of Aristotle. (Most Chinese have the same problem: Confucianism was not a mass religion or a popular philosophy. The study of Confucius, like that of Aristotle, was confined for centuries to the élite.) We would find that Aristotle, like Confucius, was a conservative, a lackey of kings, an apologist for slavery and exploitation. We would go on (in our study groups) to examine the life of Richard Nixon and relate it to the ancient Western tradition of Aristotelianism. After a while, we would begin to ask ourselves: How is it that Aristotelianism has hung on for over 2,000 years? What traces of Aristotelian thinking continue to infect our own thinking? What changes do we need to make to eradicate the influence of Aristotle and prevent the

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possibility of another Richard Nixon? In other words, how would we carry our movement "through to the end"?

The initiation of the Movement to Criticize Lin Piao and Confucius was about as formal and unspontaneous as a Chinese diplomatic banquet. People were told *to* criticize; they were told a little of *what* to criticize. But they were not told how to go about it, how far to take it, or what to apply it to in their own lives. The directive to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius echoes Mao's 1966 directive to "bombard the headquarters." It is a kind of official permission to re-examine and re-evaluate all aspects of Chinese society and, if necessary, to rebel. It reflects Chairman Mao's utter confidence in the ability of the Chinese people to find their own way, and lead their own country.

How are they choosing to carry through the criticism? For at least half the Chinese, there is an immediate and obvious way to "use" the Movement. Confucius was, among other things, a raving sexist, and there wasn't a woman we met who didn't take the opportunity to let us in on this fact. A woman dock-worker in Shanghai gave what was perhaps the best summary we heard:

> In the beginning, we women did not have a good understanding of the Movement to Criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. But through study we gradually realized that Confucian thinking was deeply rooted not only in the minds of the male comrades, but also in the minds of the female comrades. Here is a fallacy of Confucius, for instance: that women are hard to get along with. Lin Piao once said that women are useless. They said, "Old women gossip too much; middle aged women are held down by a lot of household chores and move slowly; young women talk too much." Confucius also spread the fallacy of the "Three Obediences": When a woman was young, she had to obey her father; when she was married, she had to obey her husband; when she was a widow, she had to obey her eldest son. And there were the "Four Virtues": (1) A woman should know her place under the sun and act in compliance with the old ethical code. (2) A woman must not talk too much and bore people. (3) A woman must adorn herself with a view to pleasing men. (4) A woman must do all the household chores.
>
> In a nutshell, men must sit on the backs of women. Many male comrades maintained the idea of male superiority and even some leaders believed this, although Chairman Mao says that

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women hold up half the sky. But Confucius and Lin Piao looked down on us. Some leaders [here at the docks] did not pay enough attention to training more women cadres [managers and technicians].

So we women must bear the brunt of the struggle in the Movement to Criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. But, in the course of the Movement, we have been fighting shoulder to shoulder with the men comrades, and not pushing them to one side.

Well before the current Movement, Chinese women were already vastly more liberated than we are in the United States: day care is universally available and practically free; women are encouraged to enter all but the most strenuous occupations; perhaps most striking, women do not have to "adorn themselves" with a view to pleasing anybody: sexual objectification simply does not occur. Still, the women we talked with felt that they were making important gains through the Movement: husbands are doing better at holding up their end of the housework; grandparents aren't pressuring couples to keep trying until they produce a male offspring; higher-ups are more sensitive about hiring women for positions of responsibility; women are speaking up louder and more often at meetings.

But there is still a way to go. Women are still under-represented in leadership posts in a number of enterprises we visited. To give an extreme example, 60 percent of the workers at the Wuxi Ceramic Figure Factory are women, but there is only one woman on the seven-member revolutionary committee which runs the factory. Conversely, women are over-represented (to the tune of about 100 percent) in such traditional feminine occupations as nursing and the care of children in day-care centers. The explanation we were given was that women are inherently more "patient" than men. When we questioned this notion, suggesting as tactfully as possible that it smacked of the Confucian idea of "innate abilities," we set off a lively internal discussion among a group of women from the Tientsin Women's Federation. Finally they came up with one question for translation, "Do any American men work with small children in day-care centers?" When we said yes, we knew some who did and were very good at it, the Tientsin women questioned us in detail. Then, after a few more moments of discussion among them-

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selves, the Vice Chairwoman of the Women's Federation grinned and said, "We think our men could *learn* patience." From this and a few other exchanges on the same theme, we concluded that the notion of female "patience"—or of any other sex-determined personality traits—is on very shaky ground indeed in a China committed to criticizing Confucius.

Women, speaking as women, gave us our first glimpse into the impact of the Movement on daily life in China. As we traveled, we found that wherever there have been authoritarian relationships between people—students and teachers, children and parents, patients and doctors, etc.—there is ample fodder for the Movement. In the schools, the Movement is bringing about a re-evaluation of the student-teacher relationship. A pig-tailed girl in a Nanking primary school told us:

> In the past [before the Movement] we just followed the teachings of the teachers, whether or not they were bad or incorrect. Now we have criticized the teachers' absolute authority . . . we realize that if we have shortcomings we should be happy to be criticized by teachers and when they have shortcomings, we should criticize them.

In a Tientsin middle school (the equivalent of a high school here), the Movement has also resulted in a system of student evaluation of teachers and, in the particular school we visited, an attack on the emphasis on grades.

To some of us—veterans of the American student movement of the 1960s—it was incredible that Chinese high-school and even primary-school students are raising demands and winning gains that would still be revolutionary on most American college campuses. (Very few American colleges have even a token system of student evaluation of faculty.) Had the Chinese students disrupted classes, occupied buildings, gone on strike? Far from it: they told us they had simply sat down with their teachers to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. The teachers in the Nanking primary school we visited were eager to tell us about the changes they were going through:

> In the past I thought I had the last say in class. In the past only teachers could criticize students. It was not permitted for students to criticize teachers. . . . The students were not very happy.

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We think that the idea of the teacher's absolute authority is an obstacle to the spirit of the "Five Dares": dare to think, dare to speak, dare to do, dare to be in the vanguard, dare to go against the tide.

A second teacher added:

The theory of the absolute authority of the teacher came from the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius [a fourth-century B.C. disciple of Confucius]. I would say the influence of this theory still exists today, but it was more serious before the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. . . . Through the Movement to Criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, we are carrying out the criticism of the teachers' authority. . . . Now each term we have two evaluations of the teachers. For example, when I taught arithmetic, there is a chapter which I thought was very simple, but I found out the students had a lot of trouble with it and made many mistakes. So there was an evaluation meeting in which the students criticized me. They said the problem is not our fault but the fault of the teacher.

Within the medical system, a similar mild revolution was underway, focused in this case on the authority of the doctors. At the Suei Chin Hospital, an 1100-bed teaching hospital in Shanghai, a doctor told us: "In the past the school teacher had too much authority in the schools and the doctors had too much in the hospital. This was a pernicious Confucian influence."
A second doctor:

. . . there were not just problems with the old doctors [who had been educated before Liberation]. Young doctors also had this problem. . . . The pernicious influence of Confucius is deep-rooted, such as the idea that the intellectuals should rule and that studying is the highest occupation. Doctors have had such thoughts and thought that doctors were higher than other workers and that the others were stupid.

A third doctor gave an example of how the doctors' attitudes had affected patient care:

Before the Movement to Criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the attitude of medical workers revealed some problems. For example, in our hospital, a lot of doctors—more than twenty—wanted to examine a patient suffering from a heart disease. The patient wanted to eat a meal and not be examined then. But the doctors

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were only thinking of improving their own technical level. . . . [This reflects] Confucius's belief that knowledge is private property.

Because the idea of American doctors' voluntarily criticizing their own arrogance is as unlikely as an AMA campaign for socialized medicine, I should say something about the spirit in which these statements were made. These were not mechanical self-criticisms or grudging admissions eked out after clever cross-questioning. The doctors chose to explain the Movement to us in this way: they could easily have gotten by with a summary of the abstract evils of Confucianism. They seemed much more interested in talking about this than they had been in some of the technical subjects we had raised—almost interrupting each other to make sure a point was clear. In fact, they were not criticizing *themselves*. This is not a movement to criticize doctors, or teachers, or males, but a movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. A person accused of arrogance is not put in a position of having to admit that he is an overbearing ass: he can simply say he was "under the pernicious influence of Confucian thought." The externalization of bad attitudes through Lin Piao and Confucius allows the Chinese (in Mao's medical metaphor) to cure the disease *and* save the patient.

Another relationship with authoritarian overtones is the worker/manager relationship. The Cultural Revolution significantly reduced the distance between rank-and-file workers and white-collar administrators: all factories are now run by "revolutionary committees" which include manual laborers, and administrators are required to spend the equivalent of at least one month a year doing manual labor along with ordinary workers. Yet apparently there had been some backsliding since the Cultural Revolution. In some places administrators were evading their manual-labor stints, or participating somewhat less than wholeheartedly. For example, the plant manager of the Wu Chin Thermoelectric Plant in Shanghai told us:

The Movement to Criticize Lin Piao and Confucius has led to improved relations between cadres [managers] and workers. Cadres are now going among the masses and doing physical labor and participating in the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius with the workers. This has greatly increased the enthusiasm of the workers.

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(In fact, in that particular factory the workers had gotten so enthusiastic that they had overfulfilled their quota for the first quarter of 1974 by 20 percent!) *Peking Review* (May 17, 1974) reports that in the Peking People's Machinery Plant the Movement to Criticize Lin Piao and Confucius developed into a full-scale attack on cadre evasion of manual labor. In big-character posters citing Confucius's contempt for physical labor, the workers challenged management to "check what has happened to [your] hammers." One worker is quoted as saying: "We ask cadres to take part in labor not because of a lack of manpower. What we want is for you to keep in close touch with the masses, listen to their opinions and demands, and get to know what's on their minds." The managers quickly realized the error of their ways, found their hammers, and are once more going "deep among the masses."

Our final lesson in the Movement to Criticize Lin Piao and Confucius was provided by the workers of Shanghai Dock No. 5. Throughout the trip, our guides had told us that the only way to really understand the Movement was to listen—not to teachers, managers, or travel guides, but to the workers themselves. They arranged the trip to the docks precisely for this purpose. Shanghai workers have the reputation of being the most "radical" in China. During the Cultural Revolution, it was the workers of Shanghai, and not the students as in many other places, who led the struggle. Among the workers in Shanghai, the dock workers have the reputation of being the most politically conscious of all. It hadn't taken them long at all to relate the criticisms of Lin Piao and Confucius to actual conditions on the docks. In January and February of this year, the dock workers "rebelled"—armed, characteristically, with big-character posters.

We met with both sides—the chairman of the dock's revolutionary committee (who had been a target of the criticism) and a group of rank-and-file representatives including Fang Tien Rin, the young worker who had written the first big-character poster of the rebellion. If there had been any hard feelings before, they were no longer in evidence. Everyone, from the chairman on down, was impatient to tell his or her part of the story. Fang ran down the grievances which had

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emerged from the workers' early meetings to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius:

For a period before the Movement to Criticize Lin Piao and Confucius began, the leadership [of the docks] concentrated all its efforts on managing production to the neglect of doing political and ideological work among the workers. . . . The leadership was only interested in loading and unloading freighters and in tonnage, while forgetting to grasp the most important thing. We criticized the leadership for caring about the timetables of ships instead of raising the red banner, which means the Party's basic line.

I will give you an example. Some of the leaders resorted to material incentives to speed up production. They did this in a disguised form. [All overt material incentives had been eliminated during the Cultural Revolution.] They encouraged workers to work faster so that if you finished your work you could just go home—no matter what time it was. They . . . did not bring into full play the workers' enthusiasm for building socialism.

Another example: some leaders praised or rewarded in one way or another workers who fulfilled their quotas on schedule, no matter how they filled it, so that some workers just neglected the [safety] rules. So that, in actual fact, these leaders did not care for the safety of the masses. Also, some leaders shut themselves up indoors, making plans instead of consulting the masses.

We think that we longshoremen are the masters of the dock. It's our duty to keep the leaders on the correct line and make sure we advance along the revolutionary path. . . . So we put up posters saying "Be Masters of the Dock, not Slaves of the Tonnage."

There were three points in the [first] poster: (1) On the "Two Different Reliances": Whether you rely on Marxist-Leninist-Mao Tsetung Thought in running the enterprise or whether you rely on material incentives. (2) On the "Two Different Commands": Do you put politics or production in command? Which comes first? (3) On the "Two Different Points of Departure": Whether you proceed from seeing your country as a whole or whether you proceed from departmentalism.*

Fang's initial poster "hit the nail on the head," as he put it. In the ensuing months the workers held "more than 200

* "Departmentalism" means putting one's own production team or shift ahead of the enterprise as a whole. For example, the leaders of the night shift would sometimes order their workers to unload only the easiest part of a ship's cargo, leaving the hard work for the morning shift.

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mass rallies and medium-sized meetings" and produced over 3,500 posters.

We Americans were staggered enough by the idea of workers rebelling against a policy of letting people get off work early. The dynamics of the "struggle" which followed the first posters were, if anything, stranger yet. Had the dock workers staged a work stoppage to get their way? No, the workers explained, "our work is building socialism," and increased production is the ultimate goal of the workers too. Had Fang been afraid of being fired after he put up the first big-character poster? (The dock workers thought this question was very funny.) Fang explained with a patient smile:

> Ours is a socialist country. The people are the masters. I am not working for the Chairman [of the dock's revolutionary committee]. I am working for socialism and to serve the people, so the question of being fired never arose. The Chairman used to be a laborer too. He is my leader, but also my class brother. If I have a shortcoming, he can help me out. If he has a shortcoming, I can seek him out and have a heart to heart talk with him. We are class brothers—how can we fight? How can the big brother fight with the little brother?

Just how had management responded to the workers? Had there been any form of harassment of the rank-and-file leaders? Apparently not. Most of the managers who had been criticized simply stayed up all night writing out self-criticisms—on big-character posters, of course. Some, however, ignored the workers' criticisms for quite a while. Well, then, if the workers were that much in control of the situation, had *they* gotten rid of any of the more recalcitrant managers? Fang smiled. "There's no point in dismissing them from their jobs if you haven't changed their minds." After all, how could you let someone with bad attitudes loose on the rest of China?

Shanghai is a long way from Lordstown, Ohio, but we could see a connection. American workers don't like being told what to do—no matter how much they're paid to do it—and neither do Chinese workers. The big difference is that the Shanghai dock workers believed that they *owned* the docks. It hurt their pride to be treated like mere employees—to be rewarded for working faster, or told that they could go home

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when they'd filled their quotas. They might have gone along with these policies, except that the Movement to Criticize Lin Piao and Confucius had gotten them thinking about who they were and why they were working. Fang explained how Confucius came into the picture and told us about the outcome of the struggle:

> The reason why some managers [did what they did] was that they believed Confucius's line that the highest are wise and the lowest are stupid. Confucius once said that the ordinary people were interested only in material things, that they think of nothing but oil, rice, soy sauce, and salt. . . .
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> [As a result of the Movement] good ideas, good communist styles of work have mushroomed and production has gone up. The February shipping volume was up 26 percent over last year. Now the workers demand extra work on their own. They prepare for the next ship that is coming. So the Movement to Criticize Lin Piao and Confucius has raised our consciousness. There is a saying, "Weeding the grass can fertilize the crops," and, in Chairman Mao's words, "A bad thing can be turned to good account."

It would be easy enough to explain the current Movement as "just another" Cultural Revolution. The broad goals of the current Movement are apparently the same as those of the Cultural Revolution: to deepen the political consciousness of the average person, to refute the notion that "expertise" can substitute for mass participation in social problem-solving, to prevent smugness and elitism on the part of leadership at every level, and so on. Today's Movement carries through the strong anti-authoritarian thrust of the Cultural Revolution. The current emphasis on daring "to go against the tide" and refusing to "restrain yourself" echoes the Cultural Revolution's slogan: "to rebel is justified." Both movements used a contemporary figure from top Party leadership to personify revisionism and evil in general: Liu Shao-chi, the Soviet-leaning, domestically conservative, former head of state, was the "bad guy" of the Cultural Revolution* just as Lin Piao is in the current Movement. Both move-

* Confucius lurked behind Liu Shao-chi too. Liu's contribution to Marxist theory, a book entitled *How To Be a Good Communist,* emphasized an elitist notion of individual self-cultivation, or *hsiu-yang* (which also translates as "nobility" or "good manners"). In fact, Liu's book was inter-

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ments were initially "announced" by top leadership, and both got off to a slow start as people tried to figure out exactly what to rebel against or, in this case, what to criticize.

But if the current Movement is "just another" Cultural Revolution, why is it necessary only five years after the wind-up of the earlier Cultural Revolution? One is tempted to ask whether the first didn't "take." Or is this just Scene Two of Mao's "continuing revolution"—unraveling itself right on schedule?

The answer, insofar as I can reconstruct it, is that this is by no means just another Cultural Revolution. In the first place, the current Movement has a kind of personal, almost introspective, quality which would have been lost in the *sturm und drang* of the Cultural Revolution. Seven or eight years ago, at the height of the Cultural Revolution, the Chinese were busy looking for the enemy within their ranks—the Liu Shao-chi cliquers, "capitalist-roaders," lingering Kuomintang sympathizers. Today they are looking much more into themselves. A question which comes up again and again in study groups to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius is, "What are we—what am I—really working for? For the revolution, or for myself? To serve the people, or to serve myself?" The Movement is an invitation to all people to re-examine their deepest motivations, their closest relationships—to their husbands or wives, parents, children, co-workers. The Cultural Revolution brought millions into action and taught that the politics of the nation are the personal concern of everyone. This Movement teaches that the personal concerns of everyone are part of the politics of the nation.

There is another kind of difference, a difference which suggests that the current Movement may be not just a deepening of the Cultural Revolution, but in some ways a corrective to it. The Cultural Revolution was undoubtedly one of the most important political events of the century: it transformed Chinese society and affected the political consciousness of millions of people throughout the world. But, to use the expression the

preted by some Western analysts as an attempt to integrate Marxism and Confucianism. See Jean Daubier's *A History of the Chinese Cultural Revolution* (New York: Vintage Books, 1974), p. 182.

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Chinese insist on applying to all their achievements, it "had some shortcomings." By all accounts, it was characterized (particularly in the student-dominated episodes) by a certain measure of dogmatism, intolerance, and what the Chinese call "waving the red flag against the red flag," or shouting down your opponents with the same abstract slogans they are shouting.* It was during the Cultural Revolution that the deep popular respect for Chairman Mao hardened into the "cult of Mao." (In part for the very good reason that the formerly dominant Liu Shao-chi faction of the Party was anti-Mao.) No one has written more cogently against dogmatism than Mao himself, but the Little Red Book of his quotations became a kind of dogma—easy to memorize, easy to pull out in meetings to justify any side of an argument.

It is here that Lin Piao enters the picture. Whatever else he may have done later on—plotted against Mao, urged a restoration of capitalism, worshipped Confucius—he undoubtedly contributed to the occasionally excessive dogmatism of Chinese politics in the sixties.** It was he who had put together the Little Red Book in the first place, as a handy way for the army to absorb Mao's thought. During the Cultural Revolution, he stood steadfastly by Mao against the Liu Shao-chi faction, but he went too far in urging "infinite loyalty" and virtually blind obedience to Mao. We were told that he had said: "Follow Mao when you understand him, and when you don't understand him, follow him anyway."

The spirit in China today is very different. The cult of

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* See especially William Hinton's *Hundred Day War: The Cultural Revolution at Tsinghua University* (Monthly Review Press, 1972).

** This is not among the official criticisms of Lin Piao, which are extremely general in nature, but it is the only aspect of his behavior which seemed to be relevant to the actual form that the Movement is taking. Lin Piao the man remains a considerable mystery. It is hard to see how this former hero of the Liberation struggle could have suddenly become a ruthless careerist or "capitalist-roader." One current Western interpretation is that Lin's real crime was his opposition to détente with the United States, but no hint of such a disagreement appears in the official critiques of Lin Piao that are being made today. Foreign policy may indeed be at issue in the current Movement, but so far not in a public way—or perhaps this is not the kind of "contradiction among the people" that the Chinese are willing to discuss with foreigners.

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Mao has been officially "cooled down," to use Mao's phrase, since 1970 or 1971. The paraphernalia of the "cult"—the Little Red Books and the Mao buttons—are still available in the tourist stores, but the Chinese don't carry the book or wear the buttons. The disappearance of the Little Red Book is by no means a repudiation of Mao's thought—quite the opposite. The Red Book was a shortcut to Mao Tsetung Thought; today there are no shortcuts. In the Movement to Criticize Lin Piao and Confucius everyone is urged to read the basic texts of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought for themselves. Peasants, formerly illiterate old people, young students, workers, are reading and discussing "The Critique of the Gotha Program," "Imperialism the Highest Stage of Capitalism," "On Contradiction," etc. This change, however, is very much in the original spirit of the Cultural Revolution. *People's Daily* editorialized early in the Cultural Revolution: "In the movement of criticism that is developing on an unprecedentedly wide scale in the tremendous Cultural Revolution, a great new era is emerging on the horizon, an era in which the whole of the 700 million Chinese people are *people of wisdom*."*

It may be that there is some exotic "secret" behind the Movement to Criticize Lin Piao and Confucius—a struggle over foreign policy, or over succession. But at the same time the Movement *is* what the Chinese say it is: part of a continuing effort to "unleash the activity of the masses," to create "people of wisdom." If Westerners wonder why it seems to take so long to create "socialist man" (and now, socialist woman) why one cultural revolution "wasn't enough," let them ponder what it will take to uproot capitalist ideology in their own nations. It may be that feudalism is an even heavier mountain to move. The ancient Chinese culture—so admired by Western imperialists!—which imposed passivity and obedience on the millions, reserved "wisdom" for the élite, and outlawed criticism by anyone—cannot be swept away by fiat. Directives to rebel, to criticize, to dare, can themselves become clichés to be obe-

* Quoted in *People's China,* by David Milton, Nancy Milton, and Franz Schurmann (New York: Vintage Books, 1974), p. 260-261. Emphasis added.

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diently repeated. But each new movement generates more people who understand Marxism (and Maoism) as a method and not as a faith, who see themselves as actors in, and not objects of, history. In a sense, the current Movement is indeed, as some China-watchers have hypothesized, a struggle over the succession to Mao—except that the front-line contenders appear to be the potential 700 million "people of wisdom."

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BEYOND MILITANCY

BY JAMES BOGGS

The following is from a panel discussion on "Blacks in Auto," sponsored by the Detroit Labor History Project, University of Detroit, January 10, 1974. James Boggs is a frequent contributor to MR.—The Editors

Good evening. It is good that we can gather here to discuss the social and political phenomenon of black workers as they relate to the United States. It is good if we are ready to discuss this question in terms of where blacks are *today* and not just in terms of where they came from yesterday.

All too often at these gatherings, we recall the struggles and sacrifices of the past as if, somehow, some way, if we talk about them enough, some one will take up the gauntlet and lead us to the Promised Land. All too often we try to find new social forces who will, we hope, lead us to "the revolution" because they are militant in their reactions to their oppression by capitalist society. We do this because many of us are still trying to find a simple solution to the very complex questions which have arisen out of the unique development of the United States.

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Many of us who have been a part of the struggle by labor for human dignity tend to equate this struggle by labor for its rights and for recognition with revolutionary struggle. What we so easily forget or ignore is that, more often than not, what starts out as a struggle for equal justice, equal representation, or equal rights can, *precisely because it gains momentum,* become just another factor in the development of the system. Militant struggles, as we should know by now, do not of themselves lead to the transformation of the system. Instead, they can lead to the incorporation into the system of those who carried on the militant struggles, thus giving the system more validity in the eyes of more people and helping those in power to keep the power which enabled them to be oppressors in the beginning.

All of us know or should know that the labor movement of the thirties and forties—which gave hope to so many—has today become just another interest group inside U.S. capitalism. We also know that every time a strike takes place today—no matter how much it is hailed as a struggle by labor fighting for human justice—it is no more than a group of workers fighting for their share of the capitalist pie, their share of the capitalist spoils, their "piece of the action." All these strikes for more wages or more benefits today in the advanced industrialized countries end up by justifying the capitalist system in its exploitation of people in other countries.

Today there are some people who are looking to blacks to play the role of revolutionizing U.S. society which they once expected the working class (by which they really meant white workers) to play. All they are doing is trying to avoid the examination of the premises which led them in the first place to expect workers to revolutionize capitalist society by militant struggles alone. If we approach the question of black workers or blacks as dogmatically and pragmatically as we formerly approached the question of the potential of the working class for revolution, all we will be creating for ourselves and for everybody else is demoralization and disillusionment.

When we reflect on black workers, we cannot just reminisce about and romanticize them any more than we can just reminisce about and romanticize white workers. Rather, we must put their struggles into a historical context.

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The Unique U.S. Past

First and foremost, we must analyze the unique contradiction in which black labor has found itself from the very beginning of this nation's history. All countries have their own unique contradictions. The unique contradictions of the United States stem from the historical fact that from the very beginning the *total* labor force of this country had to be imported. Nobody who became a worker in this country was indigenous to this country but all came, either voluntarily or in chains, because the native Americans would not work for the early settlers and were eventually put into concentration camps.

The white workers came voluntarily, but at the same time that they were seeking new opportunities in this country they were running away from social struggles against the contradictions of the European nations which they left behind. The blacks came in chains; they were torn away from their families and their culture and robbed of the opportunity to develop Africa and themselves through social struggles against their tribal chiefs and witch-doctors. The whites came from different European countries but they came to a land whose culture was not too different from that which they had known. The blacks, having been forcibly uprooted from Africa and enslaved by Europeans, were faced with a totally different culture. In this process blacks have been forced to live like scavengers. That is, they have had to take the leavings in everything or whatever whites no longer considered worth having.

Detroit in the Thirties

It is within this framework, this historical context, that I came into the labor movement in the late thirties. I came in the early days of the CIO, which was itself a by-product of the social crisis brought on by the Great Depression. In most of the plants where the CIO was organizing, there were very few black workers. Blacks in Detroit worked mostly in the service areas—shoeshine, porters, bellhops, car washers, parking-lot attendants, maids, janitors, elevator operators, and dressing-room attendants. They got jobs in the last two categories only if they were very light-complexioned, very "high yellow." In fact, at that time and up to the sixties, Detroit still had churches which

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were restricted to light-skinned blacks. If dark-skinned blacks dared to attend these churches, ways and means were found to discourage them; if they persisted, then the light-skinned blacks would leave that church and found another one.

At that time the only blacks in the auto plants were in foundry, paint, sanding, grinding—all very unhealthy jobs; or they were janitors, the most menial job. In fact, I was one of the first blacks to become a material handler in the Chrysler plant. Those few blacks who were in the Chrysler, Briggs, or GM plants, however, played a role in bringing other blacks into the labor movement. They took part in the sitdowns; they stayed in the plants like white workers, even when the white workers still called them "boy" and "uncle" and did not think of them as in any sense equal.

In this period, when there were some 18 to 20 million unemployed in the country and over a million on welfare, WPA, and in CC camps in Michigan, the formation of the union was viewed in some quarters as a threat to blacks, especially at the Ford Motor Company. Ford had followed a policy of hiring by ethnic groups, approximately 10 percent from each ethnic group, and as a result black workers had achieved a higher status at Ford than anywhere else. Inside the foundry Ford had allowed blacks to become skilled workers: pipe fitters, moulders, and, in a few cases, machinists and foremen. Ford also influenced the black ministers in Detroit, who would often preach sermons about the benevolence of Ford, in its hiring of blacks. In a period when GM, Chrysler, and Hudson hired only a few blacks, and when the only way you could get anything to eat was by working, Ford looked like a savior to black folks, even though at Ford blacks were doing most of the dirtiest and crudest work—just as blacks have been doing in this country from the very beginning. During slavery, while whites were able to go West and start their own farms, blacks were kept on the plantations down South, to clear the land and to grow the cotton, which could then be sold to England in order to buy the machines which the undeveloped United States needed for its industrialization. Thus black labor on the plantations laid the infrastructure for the capital accumulation which the Northeastern states needed for their mechanization.

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At Chrysler and GM, as well as at Ford, blacks did the dirtiest work in the service areas, while white workers, even if they had just come from Europe and didn't know any English, or had just migrated from the South, got the jobs on the production line and in skilled crafts. This continued until the Second World War when the threat of a march on Washington made it necessary for the United States to use blacks in defense plants. First a few black men and then a few black women came into the plant. This was followed by a mass influx of black workers, men and women.

The War Years: Social Struggle in the Plant

Beginning with this mass influx of black workers—which took place in the Detroit area in 1942 and 1943—black workers began to create a new social milieu and an arena of struggle inside the plant. For the first time whites were confronted directly with many of the contradictions which they had been evading because of their position of privilege and isolation from blacks. White men and white women were forced to confront questions which they had never dreamed of—and which at the time seemed monumental. Would they or would they not sit on the same toilet stool as blacks? Would they or would they not eat in the same restaurant or cafeteria? Would they work side by side with blacks? Many times the line would grind to a halt because a white worker would answer these questions in the negative, believing confidently that the whole future of civilization depended on his refusing to sit on the same toilet stool as a black man.

Leading to even more vicious controversy was the question of whether black men had a right to talk to white women—even when the conversation might be related only to the job. If a white man saw a black man talking to a white woman, he would saunter over to check on the conversation and to see whether he could intimidate the black man enough so that he would split.

The shop at that time was made up of several categories of workers. The white workers—of Irish, Scotch, German, English or Southern-white descent—spoke English. Then there were the "bohunks" or "buffaloes," as they were called, mean-

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ing the East Europeans, who were still speaking broken English and who were looked down upon by the white workers in the first category. The Italians at that time had not yet "made it" into the American power structure. It was not until several years after the Second World War that Italians began to be elected mayors of big cities—which is usually the sign in this country that an ethnic group has "arrived." In those years Italians were still being called "wops" and "dagoes" and "guineas" which, in the sliding scale of derogatory names that in this country has always revealed the relative positions of various ethnic groups, was much less derogatory than the name applied to blacks, who were still just "niggers."

The tensions and conflicts arising from the influx of blacks into the plants were many. But for several reasons these tensions rarely broke into serious physical hostility inside the plant. First, most blacks and whites still had some pretty vivid recollections of the depression and how difficult it had been to get work. Second, there was the crisis of the war. And finally, there was the union which kept before both blacks and whites the idea of solidarity of the workers against the boss and the need to keep the production lines moving for the boys at the front.

The war years were years of social struggle (1) between blacks and whites who were learning how to accept each other as workmates, (2) by black workers who were fighting for upgrading to job classifications heretofore reserved only for whites, and (3) by the union which was struggling to solidify its position as the representative of the workers in the plant. The black workers were constantly putting the union stewards and committeemen on the spot on racial issues, forcing the union leadership to take a positive stand on the issue of racial equality, even when it was trying to evade the issue. Often the union leaders were able to pacify the white workers only by holding the threat of the war over their heads.

During the war years there was very little economic struggle because the wages of workers had been frozen by the government.

Ford, as you know, was the last of the big auto corporations to be organized. At Ford the basis was laid for the union bureaucracy because, after first resisting the union, Ford gave in and established the union committeemen's room right in the shop.

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Economics Takes Command

When the war ended in 1945, black workers were able, for the first time in history, to remain in the shop because they had acquired seniority by staying in one plant, while white workers jumped about from plant to plant. With the end of the war the union quickly shifted the focus of its activities to economic issues. It quickly established dues checkoff, which guaranteed the union its funds, the cost of living clauses which provided for automatic wage adjustments, pension funds, SUB funds, the five-year contract, etc. Management conceded these in exchange for the right to control production and the work schedule.

In the early 1950s the McCarthy era put an end to radicalism in the plant, and the era of Reutherism began. Reuther symbolized the complete integration of the labor movement into the values of the capitalist system. The union became just another economic entity seeking to gain for the workers their share of the capitalist spoils or capitalist pie.

Integration Via Rebellion

The eruption of the black movement in the fifties and sixties, coinciding with the decline of the union into an adjunct of the system, created new tensions inside the shop between black and white workers. White workers were interested only in economic issues, but black workers, stimulated by the struggles of blacks outside the shop, began to raise questions inside the shop about the racist character of this entire society, including both the company and the union. When young black militants were hired into the shop after the big rebellions of 1967-1968 these tensions increased.

However, most of these black militants had very romantic illusions about the power of black workers to make "the revolution" by taking over the unions and the plants, and it wasn't long before most of them were fired. Meanwhile, as a result of the rebellions and black militancy, the company upgraded more and more blacks to the positions of foremen, labor relations, supervisors, etc.

As a result, blacks today are integrated into both the union bureaucracy and low-level management just like white workers. In the process blacks have become just as individualistic and

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materialistic as white workers, adopting the values of the capitalist system just like white workers. So when black and white workers unite to fight today, they are not fighting to transform the society but only to get more of the capitalist spoils for themselves.

The New Challenge

What I have said tonight cannot cover in any depth the struggle of black workers in auto. To believe that I could do this in these few minutes would be an insult to your intelligence. What I have tried to convey to you is that we should not have any illusion that black or white workers represent a socialist force just because both are interested in the same economic issues. In reality, as each group has become more incorporated into the system, its members have become more individualistic, more consumer-oriented. White *or* black, white *and* black, all they want is more wages, more wages, more benefits, more goods.

What we have witnessed over the last 40 years has been the phase of militant economic struggles by the working class and the assimilation of blacks into these economic struggles inside the plant, just as they have been assimilated into bourgeois politics outside the plant. All each group is interested in is "more"—more wages, more benefits, more goods. How lacking they both are in any sense of class solidarity with the oppressed was demonstrated by their behavior during the Vietnam War, when it was impossible to get any group of workers, black or white, to oppose the war. The groups formed by radical organizations and claiming to represent workers in the plant were paper organizations made up of a few radicals.

Up to this time U.S. capitalism has been able to give the workers their "more" because of the relatively free hand it has had in Latin America, the Middle East, Africa, and Asia. But the defeat which it had to accept in Indochina has brought that era to an end. The present crisis in energy, in food, in raw materials of all kinds, demonstrates that the chickens have come home to roost.

The time has come to challenge all workers and all blacks with the question of what responsibility they are ready to assume

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in reorganizing this society. At this stage both are only complaining about the oil industry, as if all they need to do is blame the system without accepting any responsibility themselves to change the system.

The question that faces all those who are interested in the past struggles of workers in this country—white or black—is not whether the two will at some point be militant together but, what they be militant for?

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National Demonstration in Support of the Independence of Puerto Rico Madison Square Garden October 27

for a Bi-Centennial Without Colonies!

The action at Madison Square Garden must include thousands of Black people expressing a solidarity which has tremendous potential both for ourselves and our Puerto Rican brothers and sisters.

Ben Chavis
National Alliance Against Racist & Political Repression

North Americans are struggling for their own independence when they struggle for Puerto Rican independence... it is the same copper companies, the same Pentagon that we are both fighting...

David Dellinger
Liberation Magazine

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Clyde Bellcourt
American Indian Movement

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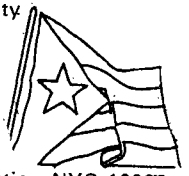

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PORTUGAL AND THE MOZAMBICAN REVOLUTION

BY JOHN S. SAUL

Bourgeois commentators have taken to writing smugly of "the myth of the guerrilla."[1]* Yet guerrillas in Mozambique (together with their counterparts in Angola and the independent Republic of Guinea-Bissau) have now brought down the Portuguese government! President Kaunda welcomed Samora Machel, President of the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO), to Zambia (where the latter had come in June to commence talks with Mario Soares, the new Portuguese Foreign Minister) by stating: "Without the FRELIMO fighters led by Comrade Samora on this continent, Portugal herself would still be under a dictatorship. Freedom fighters on this continent have also freed the people of Portugal."

This was no overstatement. General (now President) Antônio de Spínola's own book, *Portugal and the Future,* first placed the fact that Portugal had no hope of winning a military victory in its colonial wars firmly on the public record. A strong assertion coming from a man who had won his consider-

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* Notes will be found at the end of the article.

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able fame as a ruthless and efficient (though not markedly successful) commander in Africa. Moreover, the specter of military defeat was a major theme which underlay the coup itself and which continues to underlie the actions of the Armed Forces Movement in Portugal to the present.

Not that the struggle for the independence of "Portuguese Africa" is now neatly concluded. Certainly a major step forward has been taken, but it is difficult to assert more with any kind of confidence. There are a considerable number of unknowns in the current equation and, concomitantly, a wide range of possible scenarios for the future. At this point, it seems wise merely to identify a few of the most important variables which are likely to affect developments in Mozambique, as I shall do in Section I. Some variables, however, are less "unknown" than others—much the most important of these being FRELIMO itself, its strength and its clear sense of direction. In fact, it is this reality above all others which permits us to have confidence in the future of the continuing struggle for Mozambique. I have analyzed the consolidation of the movement in an earlier article ("FRELIMO and the Mozambique Revolution," MONTHLY REVIEW, March 1973). Here, in Section II, I hope to reinforce that argument by drawing on the experience of my own trip to the liberated areas of Mozambique in late 1972. All evidence suggests that the positive trends which I witnessed then have been further strengthened in subsequent months.

I

Five aspects of the post-coup situation and its implications for Mozambique give rise to speculation and these can be briefly epitomized as follows:

(1) *The Portuguese Metropolis.* The coup in Portugal was the product of a number of contradictions, some being very deep-cutting indeed. The changing economic base was particularly important, for within the cocoon of an agrarian-based, oligarchical fascism there has emerged a small but growing industrial sector, one closely linked in its turn to international capitalism. For the Portuguese trusts (and their transnational

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corporate partners)—CUF, Champalimaud—the closed and backward structures of Salazarist Portugal, as well as the futile colonial wars which they spawned, had become costly irrationalities, driving away vital labor supplies to other parts of Europe, for example, and providing a source of embarrassment in the negotiations to enter the Common Market (EEC). Something more akin to the "liberal democracy" of Western Europe —involving, among other things, the prospect of a "responsible" trade union movement—better suited many of the bourgeoisie, especially the businessmen and technocrats, of Portugal. Even Caetano himself, Salazar's successor, was said to be concerned to shift things in this general direction, though in the end he found himself strung out helplessly between the forces of the past and the forces of the future.

Such a trend was an important permissive condition, but not the whole story. The liberal ethos which such developments encouraged has not always been quite so calculated a phenomenon. Evidently many members of the Armed Forces Movement (the military group which made the coup and then summoned General Spínola to the Presidency) believe much more straightforwardly, after so many years of overt authoritarianism, in the promise of open elections and freedom of expression, of independent trade unions and of decolonization.[2] Other AFM partners in the new government—the Communists and the Socialists for example—are of a similar left-liberal bent. Moreover, the coup has also unleashed popular pressures of an even more unequivocal kind: to an astonishing degree, workers' actions and demands have outrun the efforts of the Communist Party and other reformers to insert themselves as their spokesmen. Obviously, these various "progressive" tendencies have also been crucial to the coup itself and to the post-coup situation, their demands for change being reinforced, particularly for the military men, by the attendant fact of grinding military defeat, by the cruel and wasting operation in Africa. In fact, it was the latter reality—the further elaboration of the contradiction *within the Empire* between the national liberation movements and the Portuguese state—which triggered the various contradictions within Portugal itself and which finally and

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decisively tilted the balance there—motivating, as we have seen, even General Spínola to drop his literary bombshell.

It is too early to strike a balance-sheet concerning Portugal, but it is clear that tensions have already begun to surface over the direction of domestic development—differences of opinion between those who favor a more controlled and manipulative liberalization (Spínola and the trusts, for example) and those committed to a rather stronger dose of reform (sections of the Armed Forces Movement apparently being the most important in this regard). Meanwhile, at the edges of this debate hovers the Right—the legatees of the Salazarist system, up until now strangely silent—and the various forces of the Left. Obviously, this is not the kind of conflict situation that even the promised election in a year's time can hope to settle, and many twists and turns are likely before a new balance of class forces can be struck.

Continuing struggle within Portugal necessarily results in equivocation in Africa. Thus Spínola's book merely painted the prospect of a new kind of federation, with Portugal to retain many controls and to work through congenial African lieutenants, now provided with a few more of the trappings of formal independence. These and subtler variations on the neocolonial theme undoubtedly still motivate many of the liberalizing elements which now rule Portugal; for them, the pursuit of a means by which to retain a stake in Africa while defusing international opprobrium continues. Even prominent actors who may prefer a cleaner, clearer settlement with the liberation movements (including, perhaps, Mario Soares, the Socialist Foreign Minister in the provisional government and up to now the chief negotiator with the liberation movements) are hamstrung by the realities of Portugal's cross-purposes. This much was clear from the London/Algiers talks held with the PAIGC of Guinea-Bissau and the Lusaka talks with FRELIMO (in May and June). As a result, and of necessity, *a luta continua.* Yet there is one immediate weakness of Portugal's position which bears emphasizing. Whatever the calculations that ultimately emerge from the struggle within Portugal concerning the terms of negotiations with FRELIMO, time is not

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standing still for the Portuguese in Mozambique. Numerous reports in late July make it clear that their soldiery now sees less reason than ever to engage a formidable enemy. Even as forces jockey for position in Portugal over this and other issues, in Mozambique soldiers are refusing to fight.

(2) *Portugal's Allies.* Portugal's indecision and weakness must surely alarm the South Africans, for their stake in Mozambique is high. Not only is Mozambique an important labor pool for the Republic, a site of strategic investment (Cabora Bassa), and a vital entrepôt; equally crucial is the fact that a free Mozambique will bring the tide of liberation merely "a few days march from the Transvaal." However, the South African response is less easy to predict. Needless to say, South Africa is already active beyond its borders—directly in Rhodesia (Rhodesian forces in turn operating deep inside Mozambique's Tete Province), in a less overt supporting role in Portugal's colonies—and armed intervention is certainly not beyond the realm of possibility. Still, there are constraints upon South Africa's capacity to so act, most notably the lack of availability of white manpower. For the moment subversion seems the order of the day, exacerbating tensions, fanning the flames of white terrorism in Mozambique (with Jorge Jardim, businessman and apparently now the pillar of the Mozambican Right, operating out of a Johannesburg hotel room), perhaps even in this way establishing its alibi—the existence of a "deteriorating situation"—for an eventual intervention. It seems likely that South African resources will be similarly available for attempts to promote ethnic and other kinds of factionalism within the black population. Of course, it is also possible that South Africa might ultimately decide to live with a FRELIMO government, hoping, with time, either to intimidate or seduce it into a relatively passive role. Again, speculation abounds, but that the combination of FRELIMO advance and Portuguese coup has posed in a much more dramatic fashion than ever the question of *the whole of southern Africa* cannot be doubted.

Despite certain risks involved in so opening up the Portuguese system, it seems likely that transnational corporations and Western governments basically approve the coup and the coun-

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try's subsequent liberalization. It is also true that their interests, somewhat different from those of South Africa, are greater with respect to wealthy Angola (with its oil, iron, and the like) than to Mozambique. Nonetheless, such actors can hardly be expected to remain indifferent to the prospect of an unqualified FRELIMO triumph and its likely radical implications for the shape of post-colonial Mozambique and for the long-term future of southern Africa; we need have no illusions about the range of subversive options which may therefore be contemplated in the Western camp. Moreover, something of a rationale for such action has already been carefully crafted. Thus, within NATO, much has been heard about "the Soviet maritime threat" in the Indian Ocean and the danger of further coastline falling into "hostile" hands; there seems little doubt that the mythology of the "red menace" will hound FRELIMO at each stage of its continuing struggle. For this reason it is fortunate that the logistics of any proposed Western intervention provide real difficulties for decision-makers in the State Department and elsewhere. Nonetheless, the need to be on the alert for subtle variations on all-too-familiar imperial themes cannot be overstated.

(3) *Mozambique Itself.* While the intentions of the Armed Forces Movement are not entirely clear, certainly the interests of other prominent actors in Portugal and beyond would best be served by the establishment of a neocolonial regime in Mozambique.[3] It is therefore important to understand that the possibility of such a neocolonial solution has already been virtually undercut by FRELIMO. Clearly the deep roots which the movement has struck in the liberated areas (to be further examined in Section II) are important in this respect, as is its dramatic capacity for continuing military advance. It was, after all, actions in Manica and Sofala Province which sapped the will of the Portuguese, and each day now brings news of fresh successes: the recent launching of armed struggle in Zambezia Province (where more than two thousand new recruits sprang almost immediately to FRELIMO's side, often bringing Portuguese-supplied arms with them), sustained assaults on communications arteries (74 attacks *in one day* in July on the Tete Railway, for example), and so on.

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But these continuing realities are merely the most familiar signs of FRELIMO's undoubted hegemony. Equally crucial currently is the nature of the popular response in the non-liberated parts of the country—where FRELIMO has heretofore worked only clandestinely—to the movement's promise of revolution. In the new, somewhat more liberal, atmosphere prevailing there, large rallies supporting FRELIMO have taken place (in Beira and Lourenço Marques, for example) and almost all journalists have noted the strength of the tide of popular opinion which is running toward the liberation movement. GUMO (the Mozambique United Group, an organization originally established in the last stages of Caetano's regime and with the latter's blessing as a neocolonial hole-card to be played if and when it should become necessary to do so) has gained virtually no positive response in Mozambique, and has had increasingly to attempt to sound just like FRELIMO in order to keep from disappearing altogether.[4] Even within the white community itself some elements have begun to yield to the inevitability of a FRELIMO-based regime, making a unified settler response, à la Rhodesia, somewhat less likely.

This is not to say that potential puppet elements among the black population (particularly in the bureaucracy) are absent, nor is it to insist that the settler problem has been solved. As one leading white Mozambican liberal recently phrased it:

> Submerged in the old machinery and still-existing old-boy nets of the Salazar era, the well-meaning Army officers just cannot cope. They haven't even been able to look into DGS files. If FRELIMO gave up the war and came back here in a political free-for-all, they'd find this place set for them like a mouse-trap.

The London *Observer* correspondent, reporting this statement, concludes with good reason that "here is the unanswerable argument that keeps FRELIMO insisting: 'the only thing to negotiate is the details of a transfer of power to the Mozambique nationalists.' "[5] The main point, then, is not that such a transfer as yet seems likely to be a smooth one; it is merely to re-emphasize the fact that FRELIMO—and its insistence upon a full and genuine independence—is now more than ever at the very center of the struggle for Mozambique.

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(4) *Independent Africa.* How countries in independent Africa will relate to the new post-coup situation is also important. Mozambique has at least been spared the sinister presence along its borders of a General Mobutu, whose support from Zaire of Holden Roberto's FNLA has so muddied the waters of the Angolan situation. Furthermore, the overwhelming pre-eminence of FRELIMO within the Mozambican struggle has meant that Zambian authorities have had less temptation to dabble dangerously in liberation movement politics—as they too appear to have done in the Angolan case. There was an initial flurry of rumors after the coup that Kaunda and President Nyerere of Tanzania (whose territories still provide an important staging-ground for FRELIMO activity) were pressing FRELIMO to be "reasonable" and to seek a "political solution"—i.e., to accept a cease-fire and enter the electoral-cum-referendum arena proposed (and presumably supervised) by the Portuguese. However, there is no real evidence of this having been the case; and, given the difficulties for Portugal of easily establishing a neocolonial, non-FRELIMO regime (one which might then blur the situation and tempt the less committed amongst those classes which rule in the rest of neocolonial Africa to come to terms with Portugal), the support of independent Africa for whatever strategy FRELIMO might choose to pursue seems relatively secure for the time being.

(5) *Supporters.* Military and political support from both China and the Soviet bloc are important to FRELIMO, and whether such developments as the fresh establishment of diplomatic relations between Russia and the "new" Portugal will eventually undermine any part of that support remains to be seen. Much more immediately problematic (if less crucial) is the support which has come from sympathetic Western circles. Unfortunately, a few overseas friends of the liberation movements in Portugal's African colonies have already been tempted to act as if the struggle were virtually over. Nor is this surprising: certainly many liberals who find it easy to condemn the crude and unequivocal colonialism of an overtly fascist regime will have greater difficulty in carrying their commitment to the fight for independence over into the more complex context which has now begun to present itself. A measure of

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liberalization within Portugal, an effort to streamline subordination in the colonies (including various neocolonial ploys)—these may indeed reduce much external support, in a way that Spínola and others have presumably had in mind. If, on the other hand, escalation is to be the name of the game (as, for example, with the intervention of South Africa) there may be those who—despite the seamy and graphic lessons of Vietnam—will draw back from the brink of committing themselves to a genuinely revolutionary alternative. As I have argued elsewhere,[6] it thus becomes all the more important to rally people to the cause of liberation for a country like Mozambique on the basis of an understanding of and commitment to an anti-imperialist perspective. The work of those who wish to support the liberation movements in Portugal's African colonies will be doubly difficult—though doubly important—in the months ahead.

II

We had spent sixteen days with Jose Moyane, FRELIMO Chief of Defense (and Acting Regional Secretary) for Tete Province and had marched with him over 70 miles into the interior of Mozambique—across the main Fingoe-Zumbo Road, by then abandoned by the Portuguese, and two thirds of the way to the Zambezi. Now, as our stay drew to a close, we met with him for the last time. He began by summarizing, for more than an hour, the current state of the struggle in Tete and in Mozambique as a whole, helping us to pull together our myriad impressions from the trip. He explored with us, as well, the implications of FRELIMO's military advance into the crucial province of Manica and Sofala, an advance which had only just been confirmed by reports reaching our column (this was in August-September, 1972) but which can now be seen, as noted above, to have become the major determinant of the recent overthrow of the Portuguese government itself.[7] The clarity of analysis and the impressive dedication which we had come to recognize as being typical of FRELIMO "responsibles" were again apparent as we talked with him. But it was when we turned to more personal matters that we reached what I now see to have been an even deeper level of understanding of the meaning of the Mozambique revolution.

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We had asked almost all of the many Mozambicans we interviewed inside the liberated areas to supplement their analysis of the current situation with some autobiographical remarks. We did so more reluctantly in Moyane's case, given his position and the many claims upon his time. But once asked he warmed to the theme, and in sketching at length his autobiography he gave us a particularly vivid picture of the realities of southern Africa and of the grisly nature of Portuguese oppression. Older (at 36) than most of the other cadres we met during our stay, he had also experienced at first hand even more than they the day-to-day humiliation and brutalities of the Portuguese presence. He was able therefore to trace in detail the many menial jobs he had been forced to take (including one in the South African mines, where his father, working there before him, had died), the discrimination and abuse which he had experienced, and his hard struggle over the years to piece together the rudiments of a primary education. He also spoke of his slowly growing political consciousness, sparked in part by events elsewhere—Nkrumah in Ghana, Nyerere in Tanzania, the fight against the Federation, Congolese independence, the outbreak of fighting in Angola—and by the dramatic visit of Eduardo Mondlane to Mozambique (at a time when the latter was still with the United Nations) in 1961. Moyane began to see the way out of his isolation; in 1963 he escaped from Mozambique to Tanzania and, in his own words, then "entered into the collective life of FRELIMO." With this phrase he abruptly brought the account of his "autobiography" to a close. Quite unconsciously, it seemed, he was thus making the point that his history was now the history of FRELIMO and of the Mozambican people as a whole.

The key to the future of Mozambique can be discerned in this anecdote. For Moyane's conclusion reflects a spirit—difficult to present in terms other than those which sound clichéd and romanticized—which is nonetheless discernible everywhere in the liberated areas. I was continually meeting cadres, very often in their early twenties, at various levels of the FRELIMO structure who astonished me with their sure grasp of the essentials of the struggle and with their obvious dedication. I was tempted to contrast them, perhaps unfairly, with too many of

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the conservative students (of the same age group) I had known well during seven years at the University of Dar es Salaam. After drawing such a comparison, the fields of practice and of struggle appeared even more obviously to be the ideal terrain for leadership training—better, certainly, than most of the formal education system which has been inherited from colonialism elsewhere in Africa.

There were some closely related aspects of life in free Mozambique which also struck me. Travelling with armed combatants and occasionally staying at military bases deep inside Mozambique, it was impossible not to consider the dangers of militarism—all the more so in light of the past decade of continental developments. Significantly, FRELIMO seemed equally preoccupied with such problems, and with any future danger to the nature of post-liberation Mozambican society which might arise from this quarter. Sebastião Mabote, FRELIMO's Chief of Military Operations with whom we also travelled throughout our stay in the liberated areas, raised the question on a number of occasions, discussing frankly both the Algerian case and the grotesque situation in much of army-dominated black Africa. Too often elsewhere, he felt, "they don't explain to the soldiers why they have these arms"; in contrast, "politics commands the army in our case."

Thus all militants, including those most clearly assigned to administrative posts, had military training and, as we saw for ourselves, ordinary villagers were everywhere actively engaged in local militia units. Moreover, those involved directly in military work were constantly reminded of, and instructed in, the basically political nature of the overall struggle for Mozambican independence of which they form a part;[8] we were even fortunate enough to meet several of the political commissars who were undertaking precisely this kind of educational work within the army and at the movement's "Centers of Preparation." After obtaining independence, Mabote assured us, the campaign will continue against the establishment of any form of caste system premised on what he dismissively termed "military professionalism." Many of the military personnel we interviewed echoed, in one form or another, Mabote's statement that "we are making a revolution, not a war of conquest."

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The latter statement is particularly crucial. For, ultimately, the main check upon militarism and other forms of bureaucratic involution of the liberation struggle in Mozambique was seen, by Mabote and others, to be the existence of an active popular base for that struggle. Equally important, the existence of such a base is also the key to the military success which has thus far been achieved against the Portuguese; in Mabote's words, "the atomic bomb in this war is the people's consciousness." There is of course a strong popular sentiment upon which to build in Mozambique; the Portuguese have seen to that. At a large public gathering which we attended inside the country, the proper mood was established at the outset by requesting an indication from the crowd of all those who had been abused or stolen from by the Portuguese, all those pressed into labor on the roads or in the South African mines, all those who had carried a white man's sedan chair (as several of the very old men evidently had done in their time), and the like. Yet spontaneity has not been the whole story either. Beyond this, we witnessed the importance of the *institutions* which give a new form to the hostility felt by peasants towards the Portuguese, and of the *methods of political work* which provide that vague sentiment with a new content, revitalizing and further radicalizing it.[9]

Thus, in institutional terms, we found an ongoing political system, spawned by FRELIMO, which reached right up from the village level and we learned, from those involved, of the active political life at village, circle, district, and regional levels where the work of elected representatives meshed remarkably smoothly with that of FRELIMO-appointed officials. Obviously there are possible contradictions here, but all the evidence indicated that these were being effectively resolved. Certainly, the most important guarantee of this was that the point was constantly being made to FRELIMO cadres in all the movement forums in which we participated that they take great pains to premise their political activity and mobilizational responsibilities upon respect for and confidence in the people. Nor was it at all unusual to find even ordinary soldiers saying, as one did in the course of our interviews, that "without the people we cannot do anything."

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One incident in particular suggests itself to me as a measure of this reality. In visiting a village of about 300 people at a few hours' march from the district headquarters where we were staying, we were accompanied by a group of 40 or more armed men and women. Yet when we arrived in the village we were warmly welcomed; more important, the soldiers mixed freely with the villagers, helping with chores or sitting casually with old women by the fire as the latter cooked supper. There are not many countries in the world where the arrival of a group of soldiers (or even a single policeman!) could be the signal for life to continue normally. Yet in liberated Mozambique this is the order of the day.

At one level, the immediate advantages of using methods of work which can produce this kind of link between guerrilla and peasant are self-evident. We saw, for example, the extent to which the active involvement of ordinary villagers in the transportation of war material and other essentials is basic to the ongoing confrontation with the Portuguese; and we learned of the importance of agricultural supplies provided by villagers to FRELIMO forces. The existence of such a milieu also guarantees greater security for FRELIMO movements and the more ready recruitment of new full-time militants. And the long-term implications are no less important: the discouragement of any drift towards elitist preconceptions and/or self-defeating authoritarian methods on the part of the cadres certainly, but equally impressive the growing self-confidence of the villagers themselves. This was evidenced for us by their active participation in public meetings and in the quality of their discussions with us at the village level. But perhaps it was epitomized most pointedly by one of a village's elected officials who, in an exchange with the FRELIMO district commissar travelling with us, stated that he and his fellow villagers now felt FRELIMO to be really concerned to serve the interests of the people. But if things didn't change basically after independence? Then we would have to think again, and act accordingly, he said. A firm basis, one might suspect, for the sustaining of FRELIMO's revolutionary trajectory!

"Revolution" was a word we heard often inside Mozambique. In fact, one of the first points which Comrade Mabote

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made to us as we set out from the Zambian border for the interior was that the imperatives of mobilizing against a recalcitrant colonialism like that of Portugal gave Mozambicans a chance most other African states had missed. Here nationalist self-assertion could not remain a surface phenomenon, but inevitably involved a basic re-ordering of social relationships inherited from traditional society and from colonialism—in short it meant, in Mabote's words, "the opportunity to have a revolution." For Mabote, "it is not sufficient merely to defeat the enemy; we must also be prepared to remake things afterwards. We conquer, but this is not the main point. Rather, we are 'conquering' the consciousness of the people with the concept of a society worked out by the people." And he specifically echoed an idea I had first heard expressed by Eduardo Mondlane himself shortly before his assassination: that it would be almost a pity if Mozambicans were to defeat the Portuguese too quickly since so much is being learned in the course of the struggle. In so arguing, it is evident that both Mondlane and Mabote were only half-joking.

The checks upon elitism and the stimulus to the people's own self-confidence, discussed above, are examples of the lessons being learned, as are the strenuous efforts devoted in the liberated areas to developing educational and health systems tailored to the people's needs. We saw clear evidence of the latter accomplishments when we visited schools and clinics—profoundly impressive, however underequipped they might be—in a part of Fingoe district where such facilities had been unknown throughout the long years of Portuguese control.

Other evidence was the conscious concern to transform the substance of women's roles in the new Mozambique. This will be a long process which has only just begun, but it could be measured, modestly, in the statement of one very young woman cadre in FRELIMO who told us that the biggest change which the movement had brought to her life was that now when she spoke men listened to her. Certainly, FRELIMO's concern with this issue was most apparent. At one public meeting we attended, much the largest proportion of the discussion was devoted to exploring with the villagers the importance of affirming women's basic equality. And, significantly, three recent deserters

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from the Portuguese side spontaneously pinpointed the treatment of women as comrades within the movement as the most striking of many differences which they had noted since joining FRELIMO. It was this, one said, which had suggested to them most forcefully that "something new is being created." Moreover, the challenge to pre-existing orthodoxies regarding the question of women was merely one part of a much broader cultural revolution. Just as impressive were the efforts, described by a young teacher (and exemplified for us by the students at his school), to play subtly upon the prevailing art forms of the area, encouraging the local people to rework their songs and dances so that, without denaturing them, they could be given a political or social shading relevant to contemporary imperatives. Indeed, something of the breadth of the revolutionary concept which was at work in free Mozambique could be glimpsed in another of Mabote's half-joking remarks when he insisted good-humoredly to a gathering of FRELIMO militants that "not to sing well is a political error."

Finally and centrally, there were changes to be seen in the economic life of the liberated areas. "We know that the basis of the struggle is economic," Mabote observed, "that there are two classes: the exploited and the exploiters. Colonialism and capitalism develop from this point." FRELIMO's emphasis is to be a different one: "Our population produces individually, but we are working towards collective production—that is the general goal." One example of this collective emphasis was provided by the two hard-working "responsibles" from FRELIMO's Department of Production and Commerce who accompanied us on our trip and whose current task was the establishment of a number of "people's stores" in that part of Tete Province which we were visiting. But it was the changing relations of production in one of the villages which particularly caught my attention—perhaps because of my own studies of efforts at collective rural development in neighboring Tanzania. In this village, to quote a previously cited article, "I discovered a division of labor which incorporated a significant proportion of collective farmed fields, work on these being recorded in a log-book against eventual distribution of the proceeds. I found metal-workers and basket-makers, who had originally worked

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as mini-entrepreneurs in the village, now working as part of this collective division of labor, their time spent also being recorded in the village book." The community spirit thus engendered seemed also to make it easier for the village to shoulder those broader responsibilities noted above—helping to feed the fighting forces by providing produce and joining periodically in the carrying of vital materials from the frontier. In short this was an experiment which compared favorably with most of the "ujamaa villages" that one knew in Tanzania. Here, too, the evidence begins to suggest "that in such a peasantry, increasingly well organized and now working self-consciously against various forms of exploitation, there can be seen some guarantee of the continued forward momentum of the Mozambican revolution, even after independence has been won."[10]

Slowly, then, during our stay inside the liberated areas a picture of the new Mozambique took shape for us, a picture of a revolutionary society *in the making*. It remained true that the achievements visible on the ground had not yet been formulated into a fully coherent ideology. In fact, the thrust of FRELIMO's accomplishment remains profoundly populist in some respects, and certainly Mabote himself, in our conversations, eschewed the use of an unambiguously socialist vocabulary. Yet the direction of development emerged clearly enough in the movement's practice, and it is this very *process* of radicalization which is increasingly being codified by FRELIMO responsibles, and increasingly being grasped by ordinary Mozambicans.[11] Discussion of the dangers of "exploitation" and of elitism and entrepreneurship, continual emphasis upon the need for the most basic sorts of democratization, knowing comparisons between the various development choices made by Russia, Korea, China, Scandinavia—such topics were the stuff of our dinner-table conversation inside Mozambique. To be sure, some left sectarians—secure within the cocoons of their own theoretical abstractions—will recoil from the loose ends which a real revolution thus evidences. Nonetheless, we may be certain that the guardians of the *status quo* in southern Africa are well aware that such a process

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has all too great a promise, that from their point of view it presents all too pressing a threat.

It is important to note, therefore, that about the latter—those guardians of the *status quo*—FRELIMO has no illusions, for the most theoretical developed aspect of the movement's ideology is undoubtedly its anti-imperialism. How often we heard it reiterated inside Mozambique that the enemy is not the Portuguese people but the Portuguese state and its colonial apparatus, not the white race but the imperialist system. Opportunist brands of racism and "ultranationalism" were constantly being condemned and the dangers of neocolonialism widely discussed. The reverse side of this coin was also much in evidence—a profound and deeply moving internationalism. The welcome afforded us throughout the liberated areas was proof of this, of course. It was gratifying for me, as a white and a Canadian, to be warmly accepted as a comrade by such people, despite the graphic realities on a world scale of racial oppression and North American imperialism. But such a reception also heightened my own awareness of how much more progressives in the metropolitan countries must do about southern Africa in order to be worthy of such trust and friendship.

III

In January of this year (1974) I was in Tanzania, and had the opportunity to speak with Samora Machel, the President of FRELIMO, who was passing through on his way back to the liberated areas of Mozambique after a successful visit to Somalia. I knew of the dramatic military advances which had been made in the sixteen months since my own visit to Mozambique—advances such as the successful attacks on critical communications arteries linking Rhodesia, through Manica and Sofala, to the sea—which were now being widely reported in the South African press, and which had already sown the seeds of the subsequent coup in Portugal. I expected Samora to speak primarily of these developments and was surprised when he chose instead to emphasize the continuing social and political consolidation of free Mozambique. Thus, throughout 1973, a number of conferences of FRELIMO personnel had been held,

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devoted to exploring crucial questions of national reconstruction —education, health, production, the question of women (the latter conference being attended by some 80 women cadres of FRELIMO). Samora Machel also spoke of an August meeting in Cabo Delgado where key militants from all over the country had assembled to assist the movement in a broader effort at "ideological clarification." There, in particular, methods of political work had been a key theme, and Samora concluded his description of that meeting to me by stressing the three key phrases which had come to summarize the deliberations there: "popularize the political line, democratize the methods of work, collectivize the leadership." Clearly, the practices which I had observed in 1972 were now being even more clearly theorized and generalized by FRELIMO.

There was of course no reason to be surprised at such an ordering of priorities. As argued above, one of the great strengths of FRELIMO has been the fact that, quite literally, politics is in command; central to the movement's success remains the realization that popular involvement and responsive and committed leadership go hand in hand, and that these, in turn, *premise* military accomplishment. Moreover, this reality continues to make FRELIMO the formidable protagonist it is —a movement now playing from strength in its bargaining with the Portuguese. Nor is it surprising that Mozambicans beyond the bounds of liberated areas are responding so unequivocally to the movement's promise of a genuine revolution in their country. These are the positive signs, though we have seen in Section I above other factors which counsel caution in predicting the short-run ramifications for Africa of the Portuguese coup. Indeed, in such an unresolved situation, it is obvious that the need to sustain the struggle against Portuguese colonialism continues to be a pressing one. Furthermore, the various aspects of the broader southern African picture which are ominously reminiscent of the build-up of the Vietnam conflagration make the urgency of a growing concern on the Left for the struggles there especially clear. Here it remains only to reaffirm the main point of this article: that amidst all the uncertainties of the southern African situation we can at least be certain of our responsibility to

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support FRELIMO in its exemplary and genuinely revolutionary efforts.

Postscript, August 1

In the two weeks since this article was completed (in mid-July) the situation in Portugal and in Mozambique seems already to have shifted somewhat. In a confrontation between the two wings of the junta—that led by General Spínola on the one hand and that led by the AFM on the other—it is the latter which has carried the day, at least for the time being. Spínola's bid to promote a new right-of-center cabinet fell short, and instead a left-of-center group has consolidated its hold upon the government, under the leadership of Colonel Vago dos Santos Goncalves, the new Prime Minister.[12] Apparently yielding to the logic of this development (and, without doubt, to the attendant fact of Portugal's complete inability to tame FRELIMO militarily or politically[13]), Spínola spoke to the nation on July 7, and in doing so presented a guarantee of the colonies' unequivocal *right to independence*, a formulation which went far beyond anything heretofore proposed by the Portuguese. Certainly, this does seem to be another significant step forward. Yet once again the details of the kind of transitional process towards independence which Spínola and others now have in mind remain all too ominously unspecified. In addition, many of the other dangers discussed above remain. It is true, of course, that these dangers may be especially menacing in Angola—where international capitalism presents even more of a threat *and* where the liberation forces have been cruelly fragmented—but for FRELIMO, too, great caution will be the order of the day. Fortunately, as we have seen, FRELIMO seems more than equal to even the complex and delicate challenges which the coming weeks and months may bring.

NOTES

1. See, for example, J. Bowyer Bell's book with this title, *The Myth of the Guerilla* (New York: Knopf, 1971), and subtitled "Revolutionary Theory and Malpractice"; Bell's volume contains a particularly ugly and misleading chapter on southern Africa.

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2. Some of the officers in the Armed Forces Movement are rumored to be even further to the Left than this—socialists, even Marxists.
3. Of course, opinions might vary somewhat among those actors as to the nature of the neocolonial links preferred—Portuguese interests being more concerned to sustain as many ties as possible directly with Portugal, international capital much less concerned with such requirements.
4. FRELIMO seems to have had similar success in pre-empting the manipulation of tribal counters by GUMO and others. Thus, an attempt to simulate Macua hostility to the movement (in part by making use of corrupted chiefs as agents) broke down when Macua demonstrated vociferously in Nampula to state their strong support for FRELIMO.
5. Gavin Young, "Spinola will find FRELIMO holding all the best cards," *Observer* (June 30, 1974). Unfortunately, even Soares and others of his persuasion seem, thus far, to have been unduly preoccupied with electoral procedures and the like, rather than with a more straightforward transfer of power to the liberation movement.
6. In my "Neo-Colonialism vs. Liberation Struggle: Some Lessons from Portugal's African Colonies," in R. Miliband and J. Saville, eds., *The Socialist Register 1973* (London, 1974).
7. I went to Tete with three comrades from the Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea (CFMAG) of the UK. FRELIMO had been fighting fiercely to claim the area we visited less than two years previously, a fact which made the level of social and political infrastructure we found there all the more impressive. By the time of our arrival, the Portuguese could penetrate the area only rarely, and then only by jet plane and helicopter, in order to destroy crops or to make short-lived raids.
8. For Mabote, "a soldier who has not been mobilized politically is like a dismantled weapon." Or, as one soldier (who had once served as a draftee in the Portuguese army before deserting) put it when contrasting his work there with his FRELIMO activities: "Then I was able to see only straight in front, but not to the sides."
9. For a more analytical approach to the dialectic established between peasant and cadre in building a base for revolution in Mozambique, see my "African Peasantries and Revolutionary Change" in *Review of African Political Economy*, I, 1 (August 1974), especially Section IV.
10. *Ibid.*, where the question of the collectivist components of peasant-based revolution in Africa is another of the themes discussed.
11. In particular, it is being codifed in the speeches of Samora Machel. An edition of the selected speeches of the FRELIMO president will soon be available from the Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea, 12/13 Little Newport St., London WC2H 7JJ, U.K.
12. An interesting analysis of these developments is contained in Marcel Niedergang, "Portugal—a breathing space for 'democratization,'" from *Le Monde*, translated in *The Guardian Weekly* (July 26, 1974).
13. The same could be said for the PAIGC in the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. The complicated picture in Angola clearly requires the sort of separate and detailed analysis which is not possible here.

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(*Continued from inside front cover*)
Socialism" by Samir Amin, will be an introduction to the writings of one of the Third World's most important Marxist thinkers. But Samir Amin is becoming better known in the English-speaking world, and this process is due to speed up in the near future. Already his *Neo-colonialism in West Africa* has been published by Penguin in England, and a U.S. edition by MR Press is due early in November. But more important his magnum opus to date, *Accumulation on a World Scale*, announced by MR Press for publication last April and delayed by unforeseen production problems, is now scheduled for release this month. MR Press is also preparing for publication next year an English translation of the author's latest book, *Le Développement inégal*. Samir Amin's present position is head of the UN-sponsored African Institute of Economic Development and Planning in Dakar, Senegal.

By the time this issue reaches readers, or shortly thereafter, both editors will be in China for a month's invited visit. Our hope is to be able to gain insight into those aspects of China's economic development strategy which differentiate it most markedly from the patterns of development characteristic on the one hand of capitalist countries and on the other hand of the Soviet-bloc countries, focusing on problems such as the location of industry, choice of technologies, criteria of economic rationality, etc.

At the present time we have accepted or contracted for an abnormally large number of manuscripts for publication in the magazine. As a result we are obliged to be more than usually selective in deciding which new submissions to accept and which to reject. Prospective authors should bear this in mind. Chances of acceptance will be especially low for manuscripts which are longer than 15 doubled-spaced typed pages (with reasonable margins), overloaded with scholarly apparatus, or narrowly specialized in terms of reader interest.

As MONTHLY REVIEW readers know, most MR Press books get few critically perceptive reviews. It is therefore with pleasure that we reprint verbatim the following review from *Choice* (a publication primarily intended to help librarians make their selections from among new titles) of Pedro Pietri's *Puerto Rican Obituary*: "Pedro Pietri, like Victor Hernández Cruz, brings the Puerto Rican experience into American poetry in a language that is tough and precise, and at the same time musical and witty. This impressive first collection describes the "long non-profit ride from Spanish Harlem/ to long island cemetery" of people "who came to this country to make a fortune/ and were buried without underwear." Although the focus of Pietri's anger is occasionally vague and impersonal, several of the poems, including the title poem, are powerful and effective indictments of an oppressive social system. But the poems reflect more than one emotion; they carry a depth of feeling and a sense of form that force the reader to pay attention, as in "Tata," "Conspiracy," "Suicide note from a cockroach in a low income housing project," and another that begins: "Beware of signs that say/ 'Aqui Se Habla Espanol'/ Dollar Down Dollar a Week/ until your dying days." There is a voice in these poems that has authority and range; at thirty, Pietri is a poet one should listen for and watch carefully."

We promised the Attica Brothers Legal Defense people to carry a notice of their appeal for "nationwide support for the week of September 9-13 to commemorate the third anniversary of the uprising and state assault at Attica Prison," leading up to a rally in New York City the evening of September 13. This issue may not reach subscribers soon enough for them to act on this information. But they can always send much needed financial help to Attica Brothers Legal Defense, 147 Franklin St., Buffalo, N.Y. 14202. Sixty-one of the indicted Brothers still face trial.

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